Daily Report

East Europe

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GDR Representatives to Swiss Maneuvers Named
AU2111201288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] Bern (ADN)—In line with the Stockholm Agreement on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, observers from CSCE states are following the Swiss "Fire Thorn" maneuver. Colonel Dieter Hantuschke and Colonel Norbert Pabst, officers of the National People's Army, will be the representatives of the GDR in the maneuver area from 20 to 24 November.

GDR Officers End Saxony Exercise Observation
LD3011152588 Hamburg DPA in German 1426 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Bergen-Altensalzkoth (DPA)—Today our GDR Army officers described their 48-hour observation of the Bundeswehr exercise "Sachsentross" in Lower Saxony as a success. NVA Colonel Klause Haase said today at the conclusion of his visit to the Bergen-Altensalzkoth (Celle District) that he and his colleagues had received "sufficient information, which contributed to the building of trust".

Haase said that this was the GDR's last chance this year to follow the exercise, which had to be announced in accordance with the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. The result of the inspection will soon be presented in written form to the members of this conference. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Delegate Addresses Follow-Up Meeting
LD2311045988 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, November 22 (MTI)—Contributing to the Tuesday session of the Vienna follow-up conference, Ambassador Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation, dealt with the programme of further events, still an open question.

Mr Erdos pointed to the growing demand for the precise implementation of the agreements achieved in the CSCE process, and stated that a broadening scope of social strata and organizations sought to have a say in the issues of security and cooperation in Europe. Mr Erdos said that the forums outlined in the draft final document of the neutral and non-aligned countries would meet these new requirements.

Stressing the importance of achievements to be made in the field of military security, the Hungarian ambassador pointed out that the talks on confidence-building and the reduction of conventional armed forces should be given an appropriate place among the events following the Vienna meeting.

The Hungarian contributor welcomed the fact that in the Vienna follow-up meeting, for the first time in the CSCE process, the human dimensions of this process, including human rights and humanitarian issues, were in the focal point of general attention. Three events were proposed in this field. According to Hungary, it would meet the general requirements concerning the topic and venue of such meetings if one of them were held in Moscow.

Kotai Speaks on Disarmament at Rome Conference
LD0112230988 Budapest MTI in English 2128 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Rome, December 1 (MTI)—Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee of the HSWP and head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee, delivered an address at the International Conference on Conventional Disarmament in Europe in Rome. Mr Kotai touched upon the issue of unilateral measures, which are crucial points in the reduction of conventional armaments. 'We are not impatient: We are willing to wait for armed forces to be reduced in Hungary as a result of East-West negotiations,' he said. 'At the same time, we are of the opinion that unilateral measures are insufficient to resolve the problems of disarmament, but they may help advance progress. Should they become reciprocal, they would make even more sense. This would also reflect the sincerity of the intention for agreement of both parties.'

Mr Kotai briefed the participants on Hungary's approach to and plans for conventional disarmament. He raised the point that should the planned experts' talks get stuck, talks with the participation of 23 countries (Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states) or of 35 countries (Helsinki follow-up participants) should be convened to tackle the difficulties. He also said the intricate agreements on disarmament which apply to Europe should be tested in a 'model experiment' that does not affect the equilibrium of conventional forces between the East and West.

Finally, Mr Kotai underlined that, 'The reduction of conventional armaments is so complex that it requires the elaboration of new negotiating methods. It is obvious that genuine talks must start by comparing armed forces. Experience shows that owing to qualitative discrepancies, the exchange of data is not enough in itself. This is why it would be important for the exchange of data to be preceded by the working out of a system of criteria that enables the parties to compare quality and quantity. Should the political will be there, this method could spare us from a great number of difficulties later,' Mr Kotai pointed out, adding that Hungary's political will could be taken as read.

Agricultural Cooperatives Congress Held

Thomai on Draft Statutes

AU3011103488 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Nov 88 p 3-5

[Report by Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, to Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress in Tirana on 21 November: "Let Us Strengthen and Perfect the Cooperativist Order for Higher Production and Progress in the Socialist Countryside"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The cooperative system now comprises 460 large-scale production centers, occupying 75 percent of the land under cultivation and with more than 80 percent of the country's livestock, as well as an important part of other means of production. Cooperatives produce about three-quarters of the general agricultural and livestock production. State enterprises, as a higher form of the socialist organization of agriculture, also occupy an important place, acting as they should as examples of large-scale, intensive, modern production. [passage omitted]

All these major transformations and historic achievements are a testimony to and a brilliant vindication of Lenin's teachings on cooperativism, and a total exposure of the negation of their value by modern revisionists.

As we know, a number of countries with people's democracies embarked on the road of collectivization after World War II. However, this process was either left half-completed or was entirely abandoned in these countries as a result of revisionist treachery. The kolkhozes, cooperatives, or communes have been viciously discredited, and every trace of collectivization is now being eliminated. To extract themselves from the blind alley down which they have traveled, the revisionists have found no alternative apart from a reversion to the dispersal of collective property and the restoration of private property in the countryside. Yet the blame for all the evils and failures that have beset the agriculture of these countries cannot be laid at the door of Lenin's ideas on cooperativism, but is a result of nothing other than their distortion and rejection. These countries are following the road of restoring capitalism, of exploitation and class division, and of that very order for whose overthrow the workers class and the working peasantry rose in revolution. [passage omitted]

Under present conditions, in order to further strengthen the cooperativist order and to boost agriculture and livestock production, a range of new problems and tasks emerge involving the further refinement of socialist relations in production, a wider use of economic levers and mechanisms, the encouragement of cooperativists' creative thinking and initiative, mobilization for highly productive labor, the identification and application of the most suitable kinds of management and organization, and the ever better harmonization of the interests of cooperativists and the cooperatives with those of society as a whole. It is also a fact that the standard statute of 1968, approved at the Fifth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress, includes rules and regulations that have in practice been rendered obsolete by the development of the cooperative order, by cooperativists' revolutionary initiatives, and by improvements in the internal management of agricultural cooperatives. For all these reasons, the need has arisen to rework the cooperatives' standard statute. These matters were considered at length in the people's discussion of the new draft statutes, which was a large-scale sociopolitical mass action on the part of the cooperativist peasantry, led by the party. It was conducted as a constituent part of the proceedings of this congress, and began among cooperativist brigades. [passage omitted]

Two-thirds of the country's population live in the countryside, and about 700,000 people are employed in agricultural production. Agriculture is faced with the demand of better meeting the needs for agricultural and animal products of a growing population with increasingly high demands for quantity and quality, with the aim of further improving the people's dietary balance, especially by increasing the consumption of animal products, vegetables, and fruit. It also has the task of guaranteeing the regular and adequate supply of raw materials to the food and light industries, with the aim of increasing the range and quality of industrially processed products, and balancing better the market demand for these articles with supply. There are also higher demands for agriculture to increase its contribution to exports by better exploiting all the country's natural wealth and its favorable climatic and soil conditions. Industrial goods of agricultural origin and fresh and processed agricultural products now make up 40 percent of exports.

The cooperativist order has many opportunities and reserves to use in meeting all these demands and carrying out all the tasks set before agriculture. The achievements of advanced cooperatives and the experience of vanguard cooperativists prove this completely. Between 55 and 65 quintals of wheat have been obtained from more than 15,000 hectares. In corn, 80-100 quintals per hectare have been obtained from 17,000 hectares. As a result of determined labor, a turning point has been reached in cotton, and yields have been 65 percent higher in the last 4 years. [passage omitted]

Despite this advanced experience and the priority support being given to agriculture's material, technical, and scientific base, it is unacceptable and wrong for many cooperatives, sectors, and brigades, because of various shortcomings, to have created significant shortfalls in plan fulfillment which affect the incomes of cooperativists and the state's economic and foreign currency balance of payments. These are most significant in corn production, in livestock fodder, vegetables, fruit, meat, milk, and some industrial crops. It is true that unfavorable weather conditions have influenced these failures to fulfill the plan. But the deficits that have arisen in agricultural and livestock production, that have not been

small this year, cannot be explained by this factor alone. This has meant that the imports of such articles of agricultural origin as oil, sugar, rice, cotton, leather, and so forth, have risen instead of being reduced. [passage omitted]

The stage that the cooperative order has reached, the large extent that collective property has assumed, and the new tasks set before it for increasing production and furthering the countryside's progress require the further refinement of socialist relations in production. The new statute and the people's discussion that was carried out concerning it set out the main guidelines of these changes. Their essence is to expand the initiative and competences of the cooperative, to encourage increased production, and to better harmonize the interests of the cooperativist with those of the cooperative and the interests of the cooperative with those of society. These changes will further increase the active role of production relations in paving the way for the comprehensive development of the cooperative order, which has the strength to surmount every difficulty, to solve every problem, and to continually make progress. [passage omitted]

Experiments carried out in the districts of Elbasan, Lushnje, Permet, and in one or two cooperatives of every other district support the justice of the demand to give more authority to the base in the planning field, as does the experienced gained in the mass movement to create small herds and fields, where the brigades themselves decide how to plan and distribute production.

On the basis of an assessment of these facts, a decision has been reached to extend competences in the field of planning to some other districts, and to every cooperative in the country in 1990. [passage omitted]

Without actual and timely labor of the proper standard, no material, technical, or scientific factor in production can guarantee the efficiency that is expected. Increasing labor productivity in the cooperatives is tied to its socialist organization, to people's training, to tighter discipline and control, and to the best possible use of tools and resources, from simple machines to draft animals. In the course of increasing the effectiveness of actual labor, it is also necessary to make it easier. It is not right that a fair proportion of plows, cultivators, and sowing machinery drawn by animals should not be put to use. Just as a mass action created small herds of livestock among the brigades, so cooperatives can and must form herds of beasts of burden in the same way in order to lighten physical labor, especially of transportation, that weighs especially on women. Solving this problem, which is particularly acute in cooperatives in mountainous areas, is of economic and still more of social importance. [passage omitted]

The general view expressed during the discussion of the new draft statute was that, within the framework of the management of the cooperative, the brigade should become the basic unit of organization, production, and the supply of brigade members. Cooperativists have emphasized that in order to perform this function as well as possible, land must be placed at the brigade's disposal for as long a period as possible, and that brigades must be supplied with adequate tools for production and transportation; they also asked that the amount of land and the size of the brigade's work force be decided in accordance with the specific conditions of the area and the structure of production, linking the brigade, according to circumstances, with the sector or the cooperative Presidium. The brigade must also have more authority in production and its administration, and in protecting property. [passage omitted]

As we know, the general meeting of members and their representatives is of great importance for the entire life and work of the cooperative. The extended authorities given to this body in the new draft statute will put it more in charge of work, and will eliminate signs of formalism and prevent the cooperative chairman or Presidium from usurping its function, which is a violation of cooperative democracy. This body is particularly required to closely monitor and supervise the exact enforcement of the cooperative's statutes and internal regulations. [passage omitted]

The various forms of remuneration for labor and the question of increasing the incomes of cooperatives occupy an important place among the economic interests of cooperativists and their relations with the cooperative. In applying the socialist principle of distribution according to labor, these forms of remuneration have been on correct lines. They have been continually refined, and have in general stimulated participation in labor and increased production.

Nevertheless, in order to give cooperativists a greater stake in the results of their work, the forms of remuneration, as have emerged from the discussions of the draft statute, must be further refined. The general view has been that the level of remuneration of the labor of cooperativists, cadres, and specialists must be tied more closely to production achievements and to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the tasks of the plan.

One specific form of remuneration designed to encourage the labor of advanced workers who overfulfill the tasks of the plan will be to stimulate members of the brigade by distributing among them the entire value of above-plan production, after costs and a reasonable sum for accumulation have been deducted. Where plan targets have not been met, the remuneration paid to every member of the brigade cannot be reduced by more than 20 percent. Only in special cases, where it is proved that nonfulfillment of the plan is a result of serious negligence on the part of the brigade, can remuneration, on the decision of the Presidium, by reduced by up to 50 percent. The forms of remuneration for cadres and specialists in the cooperatives will be decided in the same spirit and on similar criteria. [passage omitted]

Greater care must particularly be devoted to contracts for agricultural and animal products destined for export, bearing in mind the high demands of competition in these products on the foreign market. As was also stressed at the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum, there must be a greater commitment to boosting production for export and exploiting agriculture's reserves in this field, not only on the part of the agricultural cooperatives and the agricultural organs, but also the foreign trade enterprises and organs, who must struggle to find markets and favorable trade opportunities, as well as suggest, encourage, and give priority support to the most profitable export products.

In cases where cooperatives, having met their obligations to state enterprises on the basis of their contracts, have surplus production—cereals and industrial crops excepted—they may sell these products themselves directly on the market, both in fresh and processed form. They may also sell on the market products gathered from cooperativists' personal plots and from brigade members. When these products appear on the cooperativist market in the villages and towns, their retail prices must reflect both production costs and supply and demand, quite apart from the prices for the same products on the state market.

Pricing has been and remains an important economic lever in the trading relations between the state and the cooperative and in encouraging higher agricultural and livestock production. The party and our socialist state have pursued and enforced a correct policy in this field too, which has harmonized the interests of the producer with those of the consumer and of society. For staple food products of agricultural origin, a policy has been pursued that has borne in mind the need to secure the necessary accumulation for the nation's economic and social development, increased income for the cooperatives and their members, and maintenance and growth in the living standards of the working people in the towns. This policy has prevented the price rises, inflation, rising living costs, and other phenomena that have burdened working people in capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist countries.

In acting on the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress, improvements have been made in the pricing system. The state's purchase price paid for some agricultural and livestock products has been raised, and greater price differentials have been introduced according to the classification of the cooperatives in order to favor those in hilly and mountainous areas; larger price differentials according to quality and and richness of content in such products as tobacco, sugar beet, olives, sunflowers, grapes, and so forth have also been introduced.

Nevertheless, the use of the price lever is a very broad and important field in which there is room for research and refinements that will lead to increased production, improved quality, and lower costs. In this spirit, ways must be found and specific measures must be taken to reduce and eliminate losses or poor viability in some agricultural and animal products, and to stimulate their production for the internal market and for export. [passage omitted]

The continual introduction and refinement of social security measures has helped to increase the material and cultural prosperity of the countryside. These measures cover cases of temporary incapacity for labor, old age, invalidity, and family pensions, and so forth. Today, the state supplies 40 percent of the necessary funds for social security in the countryside.

During the discussion of the draft statutes, there were proposals to reduce the retirement age for men as well as for women with many children. These important proposals in the social sphere will be studied by state organs with special care so that these measures may receive full economic support. [passage omitted]

Proceedings End

AU2411101788 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 23 (ATA)—The 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives continued its proceedings on November 23.

The delegates and the invitees welcomed with applauses and acclamations the appearance at the tribune of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrades Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

Then the contributions went on.

At the break of one sitting, Comrade Ramiz Alia met at the hall of the Palace of Congresses with delegates from various districts of the country. He cordially met with veterans of agriculture, farmers and stock breeders, cadres and specialists, young men and women, who got around him with love.

In continuation there was read a summary of the messages sent to the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives from cooperativists and working people of agriculture, veterans, cooperatives and agricultural enterprises, machinery and tractor stations, collectives of the economic enterprises and of institutions, who wish successful proceedings of the congress, express the enthusiasm that Comrade Ramiz Alia's greeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the party has aroused everywhere, inform on the fresh successes and take upon themselves great tasks on the fronts they work and militate. [sentence as received]

Then the report of the commissions of the mandates was presented which points out among other things that 1600 delegates, elected in complete accordance with the cooperativist democracy, take part in the congress and then it was passed into the discussion of the last point of the agenda: the approval of the documents of the congress.

The delegates unanimously approved the report of the congress "To Strengthen and Improve the Cooperativist Order for the Augmentation of Production and the Progress of the Socialist Countryside," delivered by the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, as well as the statute of the agricultural cooperatives.

Then the call of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives addressed to the working people, cooperativists, workers, mechanizers, managers of the economies and specialists of agriculture was read out and unanimously approved by the delegates.

The vice-minister of agriculture, Hysen Xhamallati, declared the winners of socialist contests in honour of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives.

Amidst the joy and applauses of the participants, Comrade Ramiz Alia and other party and state leaders handed over the red banners.

Comrade Vangjel Cerrava delivered the closing speech of the 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives. He stressed among others that our congress showed clearly that cooperativism in our country is an order fully affirmed in all directions. It was a magnificent manifestation of the steel-like unity of the cooperativist peasantry, of all our people around the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, an expression of the resolution to march on the road of Enver, the glorious and unforgettable leader.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's greeting, his warm speech in this congress is a great inspiration for us, for all the working people of agriculture. It opens up new prospects to the development and progress of the cooperativist order in our country, gives us courage and strengthens our confidence to work with fresh impetus in successfully realizing the historic decisions of the 9th congress of the party.

Meanwhile this great assembly of the cooperativist peasantry wound up its proceedings.

Just as in the days of the development of the proceedings of the congress, the delegates express the determination to strengthen and further promote the achieved victories, our cooperativist order, to make the homeland more beautiful and prosperous, in implementation of the great directives of the 9th congress of the party.

Albania Commended on National Day

AU2911141088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Nov 88 p 6

[Petur Punchev article: "Along New Paths" on the occasion of 29 November, Albania's National Day]

[Text] We would like to learn more about this country, and this wish is not a simple expression of our curiosity. We would like to know more about Albania because our two countries are geographically close to each other—we live in the same part of the continent as a matter of fact. From history books and works of literature, from the reminiscences of our elders we know that the things which unite us with Albania are by far more than those which separate us. This is so because we respect the courage and strong will of a nation which transformed its own country into an inviolable fortress, resisting all invaders who had already conquered dozens of other countries with the force of arms. We know that the black eagle, the proud inhabitant of unconquerable mountains which adorns the Albanian national flag, and the red color of this flag, were not chosen randomly. They remind us of the fact that Albania and Bulgaria are linked together not only by the remote past, the era of struggles against the Ottoman Empire, or by the events of later days, at the beginning of our century, when the capital of newly liberated Bulgaria became one of the important centers of Albanian national revolutionary activities, and when the newspaper DRITA (LIGHT)—a symbol of Albanian national rebirth—was established with Bulgarian assistance and support.

The two Balkan countries and peoples are also linked to each other by the events of 40 years ago when we embarked together upon the path of radical social and political transformation along the path of socialist development. Again today, certain objective and irreversible changes contribute to our search for a common language.

Those Bulgarians who have the opportunity of becoming closely acquainted with Albania are all unanimous in their evaluation, and as if they had agreed upon it in advance, they all say: "The word 'new' can be heard quite often in Albania today." In the economic sector this renewal means to improve the economic mechanism and to grant more freedom and independence to the enterprises; it means that the entire income of the production enterprises should not be delivered to the state; it means that the functions of the central planning organs should be restricted. In the agricultural sector the renewal requires a more flexible coordination of the interests of society with the interests of agricultural organizations and with the interests of the individual citizen. As to cadre policy, the renewal requires a decisive rejuvenation of cadres in the organs of power and involves the necessity of replacing them every 8-10 years.... In Albanian foreign policy the word "renewal" means an aspiration toward progress in political and economic relations with other countries—situated in nearby and distant areas—and a more active participation in the settlement of Balkan problems with joint efforts. In a broader sense of the term this means that Albania is "opening up" to foreign tourists and to cooperation in ecological matters and cultural exchange.

Over 3 million people live in Albania today and their average age is 26 and 1/2. According to a historical coincidence they will celebrate two great holidays on two consecutive dates, because on 28 November 1912, in the town of Vlore, Ismail Qemal Bey declared the country's independence from Ottoman oppression, while 32 years later, on 29 November, Albania achieved its final freedom from the fascist invaders. These are two opportunities for the Bulgarian public to express its most cordial congratulations to the Albanian people and to wish them new successes in the construction of socialism, in the struggle for peace and progress throughout the world.

Leaders Attend Reception

AU2911202488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] On 29 November Bashkim Rama, Albanian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception on the 76th anniversary of Albania's independence and the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the country from fascism and capitalism and the victory of the People's Revolution. The reception was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, and Andrey Lukanov; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; leaders of sociopolitical organizations; figures from the fields of culture, science, and arts; and representatives of the business circles.

Measures for Fight Against AIDS Taken

AU0112180088 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 1 Dec 88

["The Fight With AIDS in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—There is one person in Bulgaria suffering from AIDS. One Bulgarian and one foreign citizen have died from AIDS in this country. The one million and three thousand tests which were carried out have shown 63 virus-positive Bulgarians and 66 foreigners. The latter have been extradited.

This was reported in RABOTNICHESKO DELO by Academician Atanas Maleev, chairman of the Bulgarian Medical Academy and the AIDS Fighting Program Council. Forty-six laboratories for diagnostics as well as specialized medical establishments for AIDS have been set up in 10-million populated Bulgaria. A governmental body has been formed for coordination of the activities of all competent organizations in their struggle for restricting the outbreak of an epidemic.

In mid November the legal basis for AIDS prophylaxis was expanded. The article of the Law on People's Health adopted by the State Council of this country envisages

obligatory check for AIDS of certain groups of Bulgarian citizens and foreigners, visiting Bulgaria. Those who are not put duly to the tests and the officials who have not fulfilled their obligations in the fight for restricting the epidemic in Bulgaria would be imposed fines.

Decision Made on Construction, Vehicle Abuse

AU0112161788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Nov 88 pp 1, 6

[BTA Report on session of a special session of the Council of Ministers, held on 29 November in Sofia: "Justified and Urgent Actions"]

[Text] For several years representational buildings, rest homes, and other structures were built as part of building projects under different headings, with financial resources diverted from their original purposes and through considerably gross violations of the existing rules on financing and construction. Financial resources for new and temporary construction, for basic or current repairs from the Development and Technical Improvements Fund, circulating funds, and others were spent, which is in contradiction to normative documents. Building projects were constructed without observing the regulations and rules of the Law on Territorial and Settlement Organization and in violation of the code for the application of this law. Some of these building projects are within the protected sanitary zones of sources of drinking water, reserves, parks, and other protected environmental areas. Many of the buildings in question are exclusively used by a restricted group of persons.

Such questions were discussed at a special Council of Ministers session, which adopted a decree. The decree mandates that as of 1 January 1989 the organs and organizations of the Main Road Administration, the Forestry and Forest Industry Association, and the National Agro-Industrial Union, as well as certain people's councils, and other institutions will be deprived of the privilege to manage and administer 143 buildings. A special commission has been established to take charge of deciding upon the management of these buildings and upon their transformation into children's establishments, health institutions, domestic and international tourist hotels, or rest homes for workers.

The State and People's Control Committee is in charge of personally holding responsible those who have committed the above described violations and to hand over the documents of the investigation to the Prosecutor's Office for legal proceedings.

The attention of the leading bodies of ministries and departments, of associations, trusts, and enterprises, and of the people's councils' executive committees was drawn to the insufficient control regarding the construction and use of country houses, rest homes, representational, and other buildings and premises. They were urged to adopt prompt measures for the elimination of similar violations that have been committed.

By 30 March 1989 the Ministry of Economy and Planning is requested to submit measures for economic sanctions and measures to stimulate the most effective use of official rest homes, health, and other public buildings.

The implementation of the decree on the more efficient utilization of the work of drivers and automobiles for official use and special (production) needs was also discussed. It was determined that certain organizations, such as the Forestry and Forest Industry Association, the Inert Materials Economic Association, the Kamushit Economic Combine in Silistra, the Construction Bank, and others, instead of dealing with the practical implementation of the tasks, and instead of speeding up the envisaged 40 percent reduction in the number of vehicles and their mileage limit, started distributing motor vehicles to different enterprises, thus searching for new methods to avoid obligations imposed by the aforementioned decree.

The Council of Ministers has decided that all automobiles for official use illegally distributed after the adoption of the decree should be confiscated without any compensation by the respective enterprises and organizations, and handed over to health institutions for medical services to the population.

Dubcek Gives Views on Italian Visit

PM0112114288 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 27 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Former Czechoslovak Prime Minister Alexander Dubcek by Renzo Foa in Bologna on 24 November]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Foa] What awaits you when you return home after this visit?

[Dubcek] We shall see once I am back. If we want to talk about Czechoslovakia, however, I would say there are two tendencies. The first is that which identifies with my opinions or that is very close to me. The other is that of the official structures, which intends for the present to adhere to the stances of the notorious and distorting document called "Lessons To Be Learned From the 1968 Crisis,"—the sentence condemning the policy of the "rebirth of socialism" and those who formulated it. I believe that a restructuring of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and society must be based on the quest for and definition of a continuity between the 1968 "action program" and present requirements. I would like to add, however—because this too answers the question put to me—that although the official CPCZ organ did report the degree awarded to me by Bologna University, it wrote that it was presented to the "failed politician, Alexander Dubcek." If I think of this I think first and foremost of the generation of the "youngsters of August 1968," who are demanding that their voice, their opinions, be heeded. All this concerns not only party history but also the Czech and Slovak peoples and their future. And the future belongs to the emergent generation.

[Foa] Do you believe it is possible to tackle and resolve the problem of the political and ideological relationship between the 1968 "new course" and the restructuring launched in the USSR?

[Dubcek] I believe it is necessary to take the path of the quest for truth. And the truth can surface only by means of an objective assessment: only by acknowledging that which unites our program for the rebirth of the CPCZ with the CPSU's restructuring. This is the path for extricating from the cage in which they have been confined our program of that time and those who were so harshly persecuted simply for remaining loyal to the ideas they had 20 years ago.

[Foa] You who, in your own words, are confined in a cage at home have had a number of high-level meetings, albeit private and personal, during your visit here to Italy. What impressions did you draw from them?

[Dubcek] It has been very friendly and I was very much struck by the conversation I had with PCI [Italian Communist Party] Secretary General Achille Occhetto. It is not easy for me to say what I felt during that meeting. I would like to point out that the PCI backed our policy from the outset—in 1968 I met personally with then Secretary General Luigi Longo—and supported our endeavor to seek ideas and specific paths toward the rebirth of socialism. The support begun at that time still continues. I believe that this says it all. Nor do I have anything to add to what Comrade Occhetto said after our conversation. I had a good meeting with PSI [Italian Socialist Party] Secretary Bettino Craxi because we understood one another. After our meeting Craxi too released a statement to the press, with which I agree. The PSI's stance toward our rebirth movement has played and still plays a positive role. I want to recall this because we already said in our 1968 program that the cooperation of all components of the Left is necessary. I would like to add, however, in connection with both these meetings, that at the very time of restructuring in the USSR this cooperation is all the more necessary to support what is now being achieved by Gorbachev's policy, which is in the interests of Europe and the entire world. I believe that the entire Western world, as well as certain socialist circles, must understand that the difficulties being experienced by Soviet restructuring do not stem from restructuring itself, but are the result of the distortions and delays in tackling long-standing problems. It is important that this be understood because restructuring is a process in which everything positive that it embodies must be supported. [passage omitted]

[Foa] Did you expect such a warm welcome and such a great response in Italy?

[Dubcek] I do not need to think about this long before answering. Since the invitation came to me from Italy, in particular from Bologna University, I would like to say openly and sincerely: Yes, I did expect it. I have made this visit 20 years after my previous public activities, so I felt that I bore a great responsibility. I believe no more needs to be said. I can only add that precisely in Italy there was spontaneous and widespread solidarity with the policy and ideas of the "new course." I am grateful to all Italian democrats. However, I must mention in particular the PCI, which over the years has adhered resolutely to its stance in the face of all communist parties, because it realized that our policy was a contribution to the common cause of social renewal and democratic relations in Europe. While emphasizing the PCI's role, I do not intend to underestimate the solid stance of other forces of the Italian Left. On the contrary, I want to state that the major task lay precisely with the PCI, in view of the relations existing at this time within the communist movement. [passage omitted]

Refusal of 'Arafat Visa Further Condemned

AU0112141288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 88 p 7

[Josef Nyvlt commentary in the "Note" column: "Undesirable"]

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman, was to have delivered a basic statement on the possibilities of resolving the problems in the Middle East

(exacerbated for more than 40 years) at UN headquarters in New York on 1 December. After the revolutionary decisions adopted by the Palestinian National Council, his speech was awaited with extraordinary interest — because, in fact, the Palestinian Parliament had removed the main obstacles on the road toward a political solution, meeting the American demands halfway in many respects.

Despite this (or rather precisely because of this) the U.S. Government has decided to prevent 'Arafat from addressing the representatives of the international community. This is not the first time that the United States has "democratically" abused the prerogatives of the country that hosts the United Nations to exert unacceptable pressure. For the sake of its limited, egotistical, profit-seeking, political goals, it is ignoring the UN Charter and the commitments toward this most authoritative international organization.

This time it was the hope of settling a conflict (in which the United States stands isolated at the side of the most reactionary Israeli forces) which fell victim to U.S. arbitrariness. "Big" politics can also be carried out by refusing a passport stamp; and "big" politics can also be pursued in a petty and shortsighted way. During the next few days, the stereotypes in American politics will undoubtedly be condemned at the UN session on the Palestinian issue—which, contrary to Yasir 'Arafat's personal appearance, the United States is unable to prevent.

National-Slovak Government Talks Conducted

AU2311121188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Nov 88 pp 1,2

[CTK and Dusan Stancek report: "CSSR Deputy Premier Ladislav Adamec Has Concluded His Visit to Slovakia; Comprehensive Approach Is the Objective"]

[Text] Bratislava—The working visit by Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, and other members of the federal government, continued in Bratislava yesterday [16 November] with a working meeting with Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR [SSR], and representatives of the SSR Government.

Ivan Knotek spoke in the initial part of the meeting.

Excerpt From Ivan Knotek's Speech

In the opening part of his speech, Comrade Ivan Knotek described the first working visit by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to the SSR as a concrete expression of the further strengthening of the Czechoslovak Federation, the 20th anniversary of which we marked at the end of last October. At the same time, it is the expression of the determination to consistently solve the problems connected with the task that enterprises under the jurisdiction of the federal government, which are located in Slovakia, would play an even greater role in the effective intensification of the SSR economy and thus also of the entire CSSR.

We are meeting, he continued, shortly after the federal government has submitted its program statement to the CSSR Federal Assembly, and after the SSR Government informed the Slovak National Council about the fulfillment of its program targets. We are fully aware of the seriousness and complexity of the present situation and of the duty to implement the resolution of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress in the best possible manner and most comprehensively. Therefore, on the agenda of these deliberations there are the focal problems in ensuring the planned tasks to date, as well as those issues which we must solve in connection with the preparations for the 1989-90 plan and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

Elsewhere in his speech, Comrade Ivan Knotek briefly described the main results of the SSR's socioeconomic development in the past period. In this connection, he noted some persisting shortcomings, especially in the sphere of supplier-consumer relations, and in the drafting of the 1989 plan, in which deliveries—with respect to the necessary choice, quality, and deadlines—are not being ensured in accordance with the wishes of consumers, above all those within domestic trade. In this connection, he stressed the need to solve the outstanding problems in supplier-consumer relations within the framework of the economy that falls under the jurisdiction of the SSR Government, and in cooperation with the State Planning Commission and other federal bodies, for example in regard to problems with the provision of transportation technology and material for housing construction, and in developing some kinds of auxiliary production for the domestic market. He further drew attention to, among other things, problems pertaining to the development of the production of durable consumer goods. It is precisely the shortage of these products which causes the people to concentrate their purchasing power on foodstuffs, textiles, footwear, furniture, and so forth. At the same time, with the exception of passenger automobiles, these are products which are manufactured to an overwhelming extent in Slovakia, such as refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, color television sets, radio sets, and video-related products.

Regarding systemic issues, the SSR Government will take an active part in the work organized by federal bodies: In this respect it considers it its duty—in close cooperation with the bodies of the Czech SR—to creatively break down general principles and apply them to the conditions of individual branches that are under the jurisdiction of governments, and to prepare, on time, the organizational restructuring of the remaining part of the economic sphere.

In the closing part of his speech, Comrade Ivan Knotek stressed the solution of all the problems mentioned entails enhancing the effectiveness of the Slovak economy, above all through the fuller utilization of its production potential.

After a detailed report on the fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in individual sectors, the participants in the meeting concentrated on the solution of the most conspicuous and persevering problems in the SSR economy in conjunction with the CSSR economy. The representatives of the Federal and the SSR Governments agreed that the important thing is to adopt a comprehensive approach to the elimination of the shortcomings on the domestic market, in capital construction and the environment, in transporting the working people to their place of employment, and in agriculture and the food-processing industry. In the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it will be necessary to use all unused potential, especially in operations which are not reaching the projected parameters. They also stressed the reconstruction, modernization, and innovatory activity of enterprises.

Ladislav Adamec spoke in conclusion.

Excerpt From Ladislav Adamec's Speech

In accordance with traditions and the contemporary mission, the Federal Government is the government of the National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks, and of all nationalities that live in our country. We recently recalled the importance of this fact on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovak statehood. This is neither formality nor politeness.

The federation and the two national republics are facing a number of very weighty and responsible tasks of a short- and long-term nature. Their complexity is expressed in the program statement. We pointed out concrete solutions and stand fully behind the feasibility of their implementation. Neither today nor in the years to come can we pursue a policy other than the policy aimed at people's happiness and their benefit, a policy of seeing to their living and cultural standards. We will do everything to enable the citizens to convince themselves that we are really serious about this and that our decisions yield something to them. But to achieve this we all have to work hard.

In the course of the working talks, we assessed a broad range of problems, not only from the viewpoint of today, but also from the viewpoint of yesterday and tomorrow. The results of the SSR's economic, social, and cultural development reveal the success of the nationality policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state. After 50 years we have succeeded in realizing a courageous idea and a bold dream of the Slovak communists—our two nations, both parts of our state, essentially live under the same conditions. This is a joint success of which we are rightly proud. We must also not forget why, how, and to what this obligates us.

After having achieved equal status in the political sphere, now the principle of equality also has an economic foundation. However, does this mean that everything has been achieved and there is nothing more to resolve? Facts reveal that this is not the case so far. In an extensive discussion, we exchanged views on increasing the effectiveness of the united Czechoslovak economy, on deepening collaboration in all components of the political system, on expanding the scope for getting to know one another and for enriching the two nations in the entire spectrum of joint activities.

Present-day Slovakia is a country of modern plants, a number of future-oriented sectors, advanced production programs, intensive scientific and cultural life, and skilled cadres. All this creates prerequisites for increasing Slovakia's share in the creation of resources within the entire national economy, for increasing its share in the dynamic development of the whole state. We proceed from the conviction that without Slovakia's active participation no important issue can be successfully solved. The federal government insists that all state enterprises—independent of the part of the state in which they are located—are capable of self-financing, that they surrender the planned profits, and supply the national economy and the population with the necessary range of products of the desired quality. We cannot back down from this principle; we cannot permit any exemptions. High labor productivity, effectiveness, corresponding costs, and quality which stands favorable international comparison must be the sole criteria everywhere.

We know that achieving such a state will not be easy and will not proceed at an equal pace everywhere. However we must determine such uniform objectives for the entire Czechoslovak economy and for all the employees in our enterprises, regardless of the national republic in which they live and regardless of their nationality.

We all realize how different the starting point was from which the economies in the western and eastern part of our state developed. We are aware of the role of the technical and production experience which took generations to create. We are not forgetting that assimilating new production programs and attaining high-quality products takes time. Historical experience has taught us to assess the situation realistically, not to skip stages, and not to confuse wishful thinking with reality. On the other hand, however, we must not ignore the changed conditions and the increased demands, and proceed with what has become outdated. We cannot backtrack from demanding a high degree of effectiveness today. This is in our common interest; there is no other way. The new economic mechanism requires equal criteria. Economic laws are merciless and apply everywhere.

Our joint economy is not weakened by the immense inequality between developed and backward regions, between skilled and unskilled work collectives. This makes it easier for us to implement the strategy of acceleration, to pursue the course of intensification, and to carry out demanding programs to improve the people's living conditions.

We agreed that our socialist society has a greater potential than the results we have been achieving. The considerable difference between resources and the effect of upgrading [zhodnocovani] them is evidence of possible untapped potential. The correctness of this assertion has been verified by life—by the findings of the working people, by the calculations of economists, and by data from international comparisons.

It is difficult to provide figures on untapped potential. It is not enough to just talk about it and call for it to be used. The most important thing is to create mechanisms that prevent values from being concealed or lying idle, and would be conducive to their mobilization.

I would like to at least talk about some of the most important values. We are still consuming too much material, energy, and labor. Our products have a number of shortcomings in terms of their technical standard, thriftiness, and efficiency. In investment policy, we still proceed in an extensive manner—demands are growing for the start-up of further projects; construction deadlines are getting longer; the construction work itself is more expensive; planned parameters are not achieved. Moreover, we are also building in localities where there is no manpower. Such practices occur in all parts of our fatherland. They are harming our national economy and eating away our common pie.

We appreciate that the Slovak Government understands and supports our endeavor to make better and more efficient use of the production, scientific-technical, and manpower potential on Slovak territory.

Differing notions can crop up when assessing certain issues—for example the deployment of investments or the distribution of means. We want to make rational decisions on these matters, on the basis of substantiated facts and convincing arguments, without irritations, prejudices, and emotions. Our intention is to also conduct an open policy in this respect.

Permit me to express the conviction that a common language and the identical standpoints at which we have arrived will manifest themselves in a positive manner when implementing tasks in the years to come. I want to assure you that we regard care for the SSR—as for the CSR—as being equally important. In the spirit of the objectives of our program statement, we strive for the happy and tranquil life of the people in all parts of our socialist fatherland. The only thing we wish is for our joint work to succeed.

In the afternoon, the members of the CSSR Government, accompanied by ranking officials, inspected the construction in the Slovak capital of Bratislava. They drove via the Bridge of the Dukla Heroes to Pertrzalka, which with its more than 100,000 inhabitants is the largest housing project in Slovakia. Afterwards, they inspected the construction of the new Bridge of the Youth, and the construction work in the center of the city.

At Bratislava airport, Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek; and Slovak Deputy Premiers Stefan Murin and Pavol Bahyl bid farewell to their guests prior to the latters' departure for Prague.

Interview With Bohumil Urban

After the conclusion of yesterday's [16 November] talks, Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, gave an interview to journalists.

[Question] What was the aim of the visit?

[Urban] The visit by the new CSSR Premier, Ladislav Adamec, was the first official journey to Slovakia with the aim of getting to know one another and exchanging views on a number of common issues.

[Question] What was the subject of the talks attended by the Presidium of the SSR Government?

[Urban] First, we discussed the fulfillment of this year's plan, especially the anticipated results and the prerequisites for their fulfillment. Second, we discussed issues of next year's plan. So far, not everything in that respect has been resolved as we would wish. There are certain discrepancies, especially in supplier-user relations, deliveries to the domestic market, and exports to the nonsocialist countries. We agreed with the leadership of the SSR Government on a further joint course. Third, the major part of the talks addressed the present situation in some enterprises and plants in Slovakia, which for various reasons are not fulfilling their tasks or making use of their capacities. In some places there is a lack of manpower or a lack of clarity with respect to technologies; in others the production programs still have to be finalized. As an example I will take the Bratislava Automobile Works; we must above all finalize its production program; the factory is waiting for this. Or the example of the Heavy Engineering Works in Martin, where consumers' demands for products have changed. The international situation has been changing and this causes problems in production. We must promptly prepare an alternative production program. We cannot be happy with the fact that the factory will not operate at full capacity. This will not be possible, especially under

the conditions of the new economic mechanism, when large-scale redistribution is discontinued. We must ensure social security for the people who work there.

Thus, the main purpose of the visit involved talks on enhancing the efficiency of the Slovak economy, in which there is still quite a lot of untapped potential; Slovakia is strong enough to make use of it, we must undertake measures to make use of it. This,of course, applies to the Czech economy as well, to which we will apply identical criteria.

[Question] What are the central problems on which you reached a joint solution with the leadership of the SSR Government?

[Urban] During the talks, we convinced ourselves that Slovakia will fulfill this year's economic tasks. Regarding next year's plan, we agreed to resolve all discrepancies by 15 December this year. In particular, there must be more mutual talks. We come across the refusal of mutual deliveries—rather than negotiating, the enterprise representatives write and correspond. Talks are not held on the level of directors of enterprises and plants; there are no talks between sectors. We agreed on a differentiated approach—in some cases a concept has to extend through the end of the first quarter of the following year, and in other places the concept will cover a shorter term.

[Question] At present, society faces the task of accelerating the restructuring of the economic mechanism. What do you regard as being the most important thing in the entire process?

We are actually in the preparatory period. We are amending laws and norms. This has to be concluded by the middle of next year. The original deadline was the end of 1989. This then constitutes a considerable acceleration of the work. The new style of work should begin on 1 January 1991. We have decided to shorten this stage by 1 year. In addition to laws, one has to adapt the 1990 plan to the new conditions. This will put great demands on sectors and the two planning commissions, as well as on the State Planning Commission. The most important thing is to acquaint the people with these new rules on time, and more profoundly than has been customary to date. We have found out that people do not know much about the new principles; they are not being applied as far down as the individual workplaces. People often hear about the new system, but they are incapable of applying anything concretely to their own workplace. The ranking personnel must work in such a manner as to be able to tell everyone that if he wants better pay he can influence matters in one way or another. Everyone must know what is wanted of him. In this respect, we still owe the people very much.

[Question] You paid a visit to the Bratislava Automobile Works. In that connection, did you agree on some concrete production program?

[Urban] Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry was entrusted with the task of discussing matters with experts and the people from that enterprise and preparing, within a month, concrete alternative proposals to finalize the Bratislava Automobile Works' production program. In this way, we want to arrive at an optimal solution. The collective must be acquainted with the best alternative—one has to insist on it—so that the collective will believe that we mean the future of the enterprise well.

[Question] Did you also talk about Bratislava's rapid transit system?

[Urban] The SSR Government assumed the task of submitting several alternatives aimed at solving Bratislava's transportation problem. As soon as it has done so, the federal government will take an active stand on the issue, and will strive to reach a decision on the matter. But it will always make decisions with a pencil in hand....

Knotek Calls For More 'Entrepreneurship'

AU2311134788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by Bratislava PRAVDA staffers Antonia Slotova and Martin Krno on speech by Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Commitee Presidium member and Slovak premier, at an aktiv of the Slovak Government and functionaries of national committees, in Bratislava on 21 November]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In part of his speech, Ivan Knotek dwelt on the economic activity of national committees. National committees, measured by the volume of production of the enterprises which they manage, today constitute an important sector of the Slovak national economy. After all, the enterprises and facilities of the national committees and their operations provide employment for almost 553,000 persons, and the total output of enterprises managed by national committees in Slovakia amounts to more than Kcs31 billion annually, whereby small operations account for Kcs1.2 billion, with a share of 7.1 percent in the Slovak economy. From the viewpoint of the demands stressed by the CPCZ Central Committee documents, we consider it necessary to achieve—under the conditions in every national committee, especially the local and city national committee—the enhancement of economic independence with respect to the budget as well as vis-a-vis the district national committee and the regional national committee. Therefore the Government of the Slovak SR [SSR], in Resolution No 263 of 14 November 1988, adopted a provision whereby national committees can retain the entire revenue from income tax, which represents Kcs10 billion in the SSR. This means that in terms of absolute figures, the economic subsidy to national committees in Slovakia is being increased by Kcs6.8 billion. [passage omitted]

When we speak about economic efficiency, we must assess and decide whether this is to be achieved by means of the services provided by large enterprises—which, because of artificially hiked-up prices resulting from high overhead costs, often deter a normal citizen and make him seek cheaper, faster, and better quality service from various private persons whom we have not registered, but who provide these services after working hours.

Things have to change in this respect. We must legalize all such small-scale activities, create scope for every citizen on the basis of a permit, and in this way also resolve the budgetary part of the national committees' revenues. [passage omitted] However, in no case are we interested in creating a private sector, but rather the sensible, economic entrepreneurship of individuals with the aim of resolving and satisfying the citizen's legitimate needs and requirements. [passage omitted]

Fojtik Addresses New Ideology Commission
LD2911225488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] The constituent session of the CPCZ Central Committee Ideological Commission—the new entity approved by the 10th session of the party Central Committee,—was held in Prague today.

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke about methods of work and the main problems on which the commission should focus its attention. He stressed that it is necessary to approach all problems to be discussed with complete openness in order that the commission effectively assists the party Central Committee in resolving the principal questions of ideology.

Members of the commission also dealt with experiences gained in implementing the conclusions and decisions of the CPCZ Presidium on applying the principles of the open flow of information in the press, radio, and television, and on the plans of Czechoslovak radio and television for dealing with ideological subjects.

Incomes To Relate to Plan Fulfillment
AU1611113088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 88 p 2

[Svatopluk Smutny commentary in the "On a Topical Theme" column: "Depending on Results"]

[Excerpts] The development of citizens' personal earnings is one of the important items of our state plan. After looking at the figures for several consecutive years, it is easy to see that incomes are rising. [passage omitted)

This year incomes have grown more rapidly than envisaged—in the 9-month period they increased Kcs6 billion more than the amount planned. This is a respectable figure and its impact on the domestic market led to a higher demand than expected, producing more customers whom we could not satisfy.

This accelerated growth of citizens' personal incomes is due to many things—to failure to adhere to the merit principle in remuneration (i.e. payment for work not done, or done badly); to incorrectly worked out plans; etc. It is no secret that quite a few enterprises cut down the tasks originally planned for this year, while retaining the original volume of wage resources. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to be aware of all the connections in order to grasp why the CSSR Government Presidium acted as it did on 10 November, and why it insisted on adherence to wage regulations.

It has already been reported that the CSSR Government had instructed the ministers and heads of central agencies to see to it that economic organizations which had failed to accomplish the tasks of the economic plan for the 9 months of this year would pay out neither advances on shares in economic results, nor advances on bonuses or parts of bonuses and remunerations to directors, their deputies, and other executive staff with equal status. It also instructed them to see to it that the economic organizations, which had accomplished the tasks for the period in question, would not make advance payments amounting to more than 50 percent of the expected annual shares. It is no secret that many organizations have been planning to pay out much higher advances on shares of profits than usual (in some cases up to 90 percent of the expected annual shares). What made them even consider such plans? The fact that starting with next year, deductions from wages will increase from the present 20 percent to 50 percent. In other words, the enterprises wanted to achieve savings at the state's expense.

Moreover, last year's shares, bonuses, and remunerations for the executive staff amounted to slightly less than Kcs7 billion. The amount this year should be similar. Thus, were it not for the government decision of 10 November, the purchasing power would be further increased by several billion korunas, intensifying the current imbalance on the domestic market.

Let us explain what will happen to the advances on shares, bonuses, and remunerations that will not be paid out this year. As in preceding years, next year the books on economic results will be closed and, at the same time, the shares in economic results to be paid out will be calculated. It is obvious that the more favorable the actual annual economic results are, the simpler it will be to calculate the shares. There is still enough time before the end of the year for many places to improve the accomplishment of their tasks in fulfilling the economic plan.

National Front Adopts Stance Rejecting Anarchy

AU2311101688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 88 p 1

["CSSR National Front Central Committee's Stand on the Development of Socialist Democracy and Socialist Legality"]

[Text] Our socialist society is a democratic society; it honors the citizens' rights and freedoms, combines the interests of the individual and the society, and consistently implements the unity of rights and duties of the citizens and the state. The participation of working people, political parties, and social and special interest organizations contained in the National Front, in the country's administration, in its social and economic development, and in the creation of laws and their effective application is the expression and guarantee of the implementation of civic rights and freedoms and of the consolidation of social certainties. The National Front and the organizations assembled in it make it possible for every citizen who respects the Constitution and the socialist social order to become socially involved; they establish a broad scope for the assertion of the citizens' interests and for the intensification of democracy. All basic decisions are prepared on the broad basis of this democracy and with the aid of public discussion. Several of the measures which we are currently adopting with the public's full support are aimed at developing social life and at expanding the citizens' participation in the creation, implementation, and control of policy.

Social restructuring is impossible without a highly organized society, without our reinforcing the authority and sovereignty of the law, and without consciously maintaining discipline and order. Even the best law cannot automatically change anything if it is not consistently adhered to by the citizens and the state. At the same time, to protect an individual's rights means to protect the legal foundations of our socialist society. That is why the National Front, while consistently defending the citizens' interests and rights, will also resolutely oppose any and all violations of legality, morality, and discipline. The laws of our society are and must be valid for everybody without exception, because a citizen has not only rights, but also certain duties.

However, certain individuals and groups are attempting to disrupt the socialist social order. They are quite openly and deliberately distorting our past and casting doubts on our present. Contrary to the interests of the absolute majority of our citizens, they endeavor to sow unrest in the life of our society and to effect a change of our socialist system—they are calling for destruction.

In harmony with the interests and will of the Czechoslovak people, the political parties and social and special interest organizations rallied in the National Front condemn the course embarked upon by the people attempting to disrupt the process of democratization and restructuring on various occasions (such as during the festivities in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic); and express their full support for the state agencies which have put an end to these acts, in keeping with the valid laws.

We declare that the intensification of socialist democracy has nothing in common with anarchy—and cannot have anything in common with it. The consolidation of socialist legality is the basic prerequisite of the further development of democracy, laws, freedoms, and social certainties. Through the comprehensive activities of the National Front we will continue to establish favorable conditions in order for every honest citizen to be able to lend a hand in promoting our common work for the upsurge of our dear fatherland, the CSSR.

We are calling upon all Czechoslovak citizens to contribute by their stands and their honest, devoted, and creative work to the restructuring and democratization process in our society—to the further development of our friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, and above all with the Soviet Union.

Desecraters of Gottwald Monument Sentenced

AU2311100088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Vandals Sentenced"]

[Excerpts] Teplice— The District Court in Teplice sentenced defendants Kamil Kruta (born in 1969), Jaroslav Dvorak (1968), and the minor Andrea Bredlova (1971) on charges of damaging property under socialist ownership and hooliganism.

The court found them guilty of having deliberately toppled the statue of Klement Gottwald in Teplice on 12 March [1988] at 0100, causing damage of over Kcs28,000. Shortly before this act, they also deliberately damaged the building of the CPCZ District Committee in Teplice by breaking its windows. Defendant Kamil Kruta, together with Jindrich Dolansky (1964), was also found guilty of having tried to force his way into the "Krusne Hory" theater in Teplice on 27 February on the night when a ball was being held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February. Both men were intoxicated. They vulgarly offended and subsequently physically attacked the organizers of the ball, as well as members of the Public Security Corps. [passage omitted] Kamil Kruta and Jindrich Dolansky thereby committed the criminal acts of hooliganism and assaulting a public official. [passage omitted]

Kamil Kruta was sentenced to an prison term of 30 months; Jaroslav Dvorak to an prison term of 20 months; and Andrea Bredlova to an prison term of 12 months. Jindrich Dolansky received a suspended sentence of 18 months and was placed on probation for 3 years.

The verdict has not yet acquired the force of law.

Complaint About Stalin Monument Noted

AU2211132188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Text] The newspaper IZVESTIYA has published a letter from a Czechoslovak reader from Dolny Smokovec, in which he expresses astonishment over the fact that there still is a Stalin monument in Olomouc. He writes that "it is particularly annoying to see the figure of Stalin standing next to V.I. Lenin's monument in Olomouc." (The reader failed to communicate to the Soviet editorial office the complete information: That the monument in Olomouc is a sculptural group, erected in honor of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, and that it represents a flag-bearing worker, Lenin—in front—and Stalin—editor's note).

Stagnancy in Computerization Bemoaned

AU2511183088 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Nov 88 p 3

[Radovan Muska article: "Quo Vadis, Electronics?"

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] There is no doubt that computerization in our country is accompanied by many fundamental and complex problems. It is enough to recall only those which are connected with an insufficient component base, its quality, and its reliability. Thus we must welcome any initiative whose objective is to eliminate these problems: for example, the initiative by the Scientific-Technical Association for Electronics, in the activity of which dozens of domestic producers and institutes, including agricultural organizations, have become involved. [passage omitted] The association has announced the intention to produce 214,000 computers by the end of the current 5-year plan. This year the figure should have been 40,000, but in reality it will not be able to produce more than only several dozen of them. That is right, instead of tens of thousands, only several dozen computers. At the same time, according to the staff of the association, the element most greatly hampering its growth is the fact that to this day it has not received permission to engage in foreign trade activities, for which the Agrokombinat United Agricultural Cooperative of Slusovice has applied on the association's behalf. In this manner, it wants to acquire means for the necessary purchase of components outside the state plan and thus make use of the modern foreign technology which it already has at its disposal.

It is no secret that we are strongly lagging behind the world standard in electronics and its application. Today in this sphere dynamic developments are such that only to keep abreast requires a considerable effort, and an even greater one if we want to reduce the lag. [passage omitted]

Bundestag's 'Interference in GDR's Affairs'

LD0112184988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Bonn (ADN)—The FRG Bundestag today dealt with relations between the two German states. Both Federal Chancellor Kohl's government statement and the ensuing debate were extremely contradictory in their statements and large sections of them proved to be a serious interference in the internal affairs of the GDR. Helmut Kohl started by saying that during the visit to Bonn in 1987 by chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker, the talks had given an impetus for further developments. In tourist traffic and in many other areas there had been substantive progress. The agreements signed at that time on scientific-technical cooperation and environmental and radiation protection had meanwhile been fleshed out. In cultural cooperation, too, there had been encouraging developments.

But the chancellor then used a large part of his speech for interference in the GDR's internal affairs. He repeated the dusty thesis of the unsolved German question and complained that its solution had still not come any closer.

In a presumptuous manner the chancellor described Bonn's Basic Law as a document for all Germans.

SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel accused the federal chancellor of inconsistency in his attitude to the recognition of borders and in his German policy. [passage omitted]

In further remarks about the GDR, however, Vogel, too, adopted positions which must be seen as interference in the GDR's internal affairs. Governing Mayor of West Berlin Eberhard Diepgen, speaking to the Bundestag, presumptuously laid down regulations for the GDR for the settling of its very own affairs. Observers of the Bundestag debate assessed his remarks as unhelpful for a constructive climate between West Berlin and the GDR.

A draft resolution tabled by the SPD which states the consolidation of peace in Europe to be a focal point of relations between the two German states and which calls for the taking up of official relations between the Bundestag and the People's Chamber as a contribution to understanding was not adopted.

The Bundestag debate was held in an almost empty chamber. Of the 519 deputies, often only a dozen were to be found in their seats.

SED Central Committee Meets 1 Dec

Ends First Day's Session

LD0112185988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 1st day of discussion of the seventh meeting of the SED Central Committee ended today. The meeting will continue tomorrow.

During the day participants began to discuss the Politburo report and the 1989 draft National Economic Plan.

The meeting was opened this morning by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker, who presented the Politburo report. Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, gave a report on the 1989 draft National Economic Plan.

Honecker Stresses Independent Course

AU0112194488 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] State and party leader Erich Honecker has once again stressed the GDR's right to pursue an independent political course. In his address to the Central Committee he used the following words: We have never considered copying others to be a substitute for our own thinking or practical action. However, the GDR supports the political course of the Soviet Union, he pointed out.

Referring to the discussions in the Soviet Union, Honecker also spoke of the twaddle of bourgeois circles who have gone wild and want to rewrite the history of the CPSU in bourgeois terms. The Soviet magazine SPUTNIK has recently been banned because it allegedly presents a false picture of the Soviet Union. Honecker announced that the next SED Congress will be moved forward by 1 year to the year 1990. This may be a hint that the 76-year old party chief will relinquish his post at that time.

Honecker Presents Politburo Report

LD0112145688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1001 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Report on Politburo Report presented by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, to the SED Central Committee's seventh session on 1 December]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, gave the Politburo's report to the seventh session of the Central Committee of the SED and said:

During the reporting period the Politburo developed comprehensive activities aimed at promoting everything which serves to guarantee peace and further fashion a developed socialist society in the GDR. The criteria for this were the resolutions of our 11th party congress.

A series of positive changes can be noted in international relations. There is obviously a change from confrontation to detente, although this process does not remain free from intervention by those who do not favor freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Nonetheless one can state that with the start of nuclear disarmament achieved by the treaty on the removal of

intermediate-range weapons, great receptiveness has developed among the world public for the continuation of the disarmament process both in nuclear and conventional areas. It will be difficult for opponents of disarmament to stop it and turn it around. The progress of the disarmament process in the nuclear area and its spilling over into the conventional area will strengthen the positions of all those who see as the basic preconditions for humanity's continued existence the removal of the nuclear peril and its conventional components.

In this aspect the Warsaw Pact states' peace program, which is broadly divided into compartments, and the work, full of initiatives, of the Soviet state and party leadership, and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's committed support for fulfilling these, meet with a great response from the world. Solving such issues on the agenda as the 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons while retaining the ABM treaty; the global banning of the production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons; the step by step ending of nuclear tests for belligerent purposes; tackling disarmament in the conventional area from the Atlantic to the Urals; the further creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones; the setting up of confidence-building zones; and the creation of a nonattack capability of existing forces are a great challenge to the worldwide antiwar movement and at the same time to the governments of those countries in particular who have great military forces at their disposal.

The halving of strategic defensive weapons alone, while retaining the ABM treaty, would disrupt all the plans of those who are currently trying to make the process of disarmament reversible. In regarding these problems realistically one has to agree with those who start from the premise that halving strategic offensive weapons while retaining the ABM treaty and setting into motion the disarmament process in the conventional area would create a new atmosphere in the world suitable for successfully creating a future characterized by cooperation and not confrontation between states and nations. If one approaches the solution of the main problem of our times, securing world peace, one is in harmony with the readiness of nations to live in peace, and is at the same time in a position to undercut those who do not support the world's conscience increasingly determining its development.

In view of this fact it is incomprehensible that the FRG Government in word supports a world with less weapons in accordance with our joint communique but in deed blocks the detente process under the motto "We are somebody". What other conclusion can one come to if the Federal Republic's new Defense Minister Scholz continues to see the heart of NATO strategy in nuclear deterrence. For him, nuclear weapons are "political weapons" which have to remain in NATO's arsenal in view of the "threat from the East". Part of a credible defense capability is even the modernization of nuclear and conventional weapons when and where necessary. With the twin-track nature of Federal German politics the foreign minister supports a constructive response to the Warsaw Pact's peace initiatives while the defense minister warns against a "a hasty decision " on modernization of nuclear and convnentional weapons because he knows that the controversial modernization of American short-range weapons is fully in motion and that their accuracy and penetration are already being praised. This was confirmed by a report in THE WASHINGTON POST on 16 November 1988 which said Federal Chancellor Kohl gave assurances during his latest talks with Ronald Reagan and George Bush that the FRG Government would approve the deployment of new types of Lance and new air-to-surface missiles, so-called "pattern missiles". It is known that the United States thereby intends "to compensate for" the terms of the treaty on removing intermediate-range missiles.

This resistance to an absolutely necessary development on the path of turning from confrontation to detente is not a one shot deal. It is obviously being nurtured by those circles who profit from arms and those who do not like the borders which have arisen as a result of World War II and postwar developments in Europe.

In this context it merits interest that Herr Woerner, the NATO Secretary General, currently sees a "unique opportunity" for creating a new security order in Europe. "We," he said, "can no longer afford to see the process of East-West developments within the framework of the current status quo. We must go beyond this and set a dynamism in motion with which we shall create a new political order in Europe." Military stability was unthinkable without nuclear components. The Western public had to be liberated from the error "that (nuclear) weapons threaten peace instead of maintaining peace". There can be no doubt that nuclear deterrence was central to NATO's strategy of deterrence.

All that should not prevent us from working purposefully for the fulfillment of socialism's peace program considering that 43 years after the end of the terrible World War II, which saw the slaughter of over 50 million people including 6 million Jews of various nationalities, a generation has grown up in almost all states which is today asking how it could have happened and how a repetition of it can be prevented? It can be prevented if the further waste of enormous sums for arms is stopped and if at the same time it is guaranteed that these sums are used in the interests of all nations, not only of individual groups, for their social and cultural interests.

I would like to say that on these issues we have found open ears in many countries of the world. In these aspects it is important not only to understand the policies of our party and government but also to firmly and commitedly convince every GDR citizen that it is the key to a peaceful future for their children and their children's children.

Comrades, on the occasion of my meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, we both agreed that despite the continuing complexity of the situation, a change for the better is emerging in the world, that the recognition is growing of the need to implement on a broad basis the new political thinking, to overcome militarist cliches and the spirit of confrontation in international relations. In this spirit we described the elimination of the USSR's and the United States' intermediate- and short-range missiles as a truly historic process which opens the way to other far-reaching disarmament initiatives. At the same time we pointed out that any attempts to compensate for the missiles to be removed under the INF Treaty are inadmissile because this would lead to a new round in the arms race.

The GDR and the USSR, it was further noted, support instead the disarmament process being continued without pause through further accords and agreements on an increasingly far-reaching radical reduction in existing weapons arsenals, including all nuclear weapons. We affirmed our view that the proposals made by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states last July open up the possibility for a new breakthrough in disarmament in the area of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and in the broader sense for the practical creation of components for the common-European home. We agreed to stress that the current responsible phase of East-West relations' constructive political dialogue and agreements which serve peace and the development of cooperation which is advantageous for all, requires particular attention.

This and all other conclusions contained in the joint statement emphasize that this meeting in the current phase of the diverse development of the socialist countries and of the further development of our common peace initiative was of historic significance. In a decisive phase of the development of mankind we coodinated our course which is aimed at consolidating peace and strengthening the positions of socialism.

Our talks reflected the steadfast friendship and firm solidarity between our two parties and states. They confirmed once again the commonality of our views on the principle questions of foreign policy and of socialist construction. We paid tribute to what has been achieved in the relations between our parties, states, and peoples, and agreed further to increase the level of fraternal relations which are without parallel in their intensity and variety.

Our party and our people support the course of the CPSU, as anchored in the decisions of the 27th Congress. At the same time the CPSU and the Soviet people support the course of the SED, as decided by the 11th congress, to strengthen the socialist German state and to benefit its people. These conclusions are a reply to all those who yield to the illusion of being able to drive a wedge between the CPSU and the SED. The process of restructuring in the Soviet Union, let everyone know, is of great significance for the strengthening of world socialism and the securing of peace.

In the assessment of this question no one must allow himself to be diverted by the babble of the bourgeois who have run wild and who would like to rewrite the history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in bourgeois terms. They will not succeed in this because the Soviet Union, since the October Revolution, has emerged in its development strengthened by all examination. That was so at a time when, as Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said in his address to mark the 70th anniversary of Red October, the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the cultural revolution were of historic significance for the strengthening of Soviet power. In connection with this, preconditions were created for the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Fatherland War over the barbaric Hitler fascism, for the enormous construction work to overcome the consequences of the war, and for the shaping of a socialist state which did not allow itself to be swayed from its socialist and peace-promoting path by the United States' atomic bomb.

Such an approach to history, which accords with our common experiences, is extremely useful for the cause of socialism in general, because, as it is emphasized in the joint statement on the meeting between me and Mikhail Gorbachev, united through firm friendship and internationalist solidarity and on the basis of the commonality of views on the principle questions of foreign policy and socialist construction, we are determined to continue to further increase the level already reached in the development of German-Soviet relations, which are unique in their intensity and variety, the core of which is the close militant alliance between the SED and the CPSU on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades, the diverse contacts with the fraternal parties confirm our assessment that while there is fundamental agreement on aims and tasks, the variety of forms and paths in the shaping of the socialist social order is further increasing. For that reason the comradely exchange of views and experiences is gaining in significance. Our party actively contributes to this.

It is one of the achievements of socialism that the all-around cooperation of the socialist countries under the leadership of the fraternal parties is arranged on the basis of the principles of equality, independence, responsibility to their own peoples, mutual trust, and mutual advantage. In this we work on the basis of the concept of scientific socialism, worked out by Marx and Engels, according to which the new society is constructed taking into account the conditions of each country. It is, for example, nothing new for us that there is no model which applies to all socialist countries; that would completely contradict circumstances and experiences existing to date.

All parties pursue the aim of making possible highly dynamic socioeconomic development in their countries, of increasing the living standards of the people, and making socialism more attractive in the peaceful contest with capitalism. In this, problems also emerge to which the most effective solutions are not always immediately found. We have never yet regarded copying as a replacement for our own necessary theoretical thinking and practical actions, nor shall we do so. All gain from the evaluation of the experiences of other socialist countries.

The developments in the world of socialism are more diverse than some previously assumed. Simplified ideas are more than ever out of place. But there is no problem between socialist countries which cannot be mastered on an internationalist basis.

Dear comrades, in this very situation in which it is important to hold our ship steady on the course set by the 11th party congress and the party program, influential people from the Western world ranging from Springer's newspaper concerns to the "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" for whom our policies were "too Russian" and who always stressed that we were Germans and had to pay attention to our peculiarities, recommend that we deviate from this course and instead march into anarchy. These new "pals" of the Soviet Union, as a GDR citizen wrote to our Central Committee, today do not like it at all when we combine the generally valid rules of socialism with our actions, as our party has always done. It has never allowed the cult of personality and mass repression to occur here. The letter ends with the call: Continue this good policy.

Dear Comrades, as can be seen from the submission, the Politburo proposes to the Central Committee that the 12th SED Congress be convened from 15-19 May 1990 in Berlin. The comprehensive preparation for and carrying out of the 12th party congress will contribute to our doing justice to the challenges the times have set before us with still greater vigor, farsightedness, and responsibility and to clarifying the tasks to be fulfilled in the period to the year 2000, before the start of the 1991-1995 5 Year Plan.

We live in a time in which the development of productive forces is increasingly becoming the gauge of social developments. This concerns all areas of our society, politics as much as economics, social policy as much as intellectual and cultural life, ie everything which we understand as the further fashioning of the developed socialist society on the basis of our party program. This is a historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural change.

We have set ourselves the task of developing all sides and areas of society, the productive forces and relations of production, social and political relationships, science and education, culture, and working and living conditions in their entirety at a high level and in accordance with the plan, as well as guaranteeing the country's defense. The national economy is at the center of these tasks as the decisive basis for our social policy program. The development of intellectual and cultural life is dialectically connected with this.

Many events of recent times have confirmed that the people understand this. In this I am thinking of the mass march by Berliners on the occasion of the Day of Remembrance for the murdered leaders of the German proletariat in January of this year and of the enormous mass demonstrations on 1 May in Berlin and all areas of the Republic which were unique in their extent. I am thinking of the great achievements in the national economy, in our industry and agriculture, in education and in the area of culture, and of the enthusiastically supported handing over of the 3 millionth apartment built since 1971 to a working class family in Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen. Today new houses stand there where in former times foxes bade each other goodnight; the average age of the population there is 29; large families have their homes there; and living conditions have arisen there which were only available to the materially well-endowed in earlier times.

Dear comrades, we should not overlook this and much else when we now take a further decisive step toward fulfilling the resolutions of the 11th party congress and preparing for our 12th party congress. In this step we shall keep what has proved itself and shall throw overboard everything which hinders our progress as well as tackling many things in a new manner. That corresponds to our requirements, corresponds to experiences in other socialist countries, and corresponds to the character of our party. We are a party of innovators which can look back on 140 years of tradition, to its founders, the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Comrades, the development of the national economy through dynamism and stability and increasing effectiveness and quality is characterized as the core of our social policy. The increasing economic strength of our country is a solid base for increasing the standard of living, for social security, full employment, a high level of education, and free medical care. The GDR workers are making the policies of our party their own affair with their excellent performances in the concordance of words and deeds. The party has a firm place in the hearts of the citizens of our socialist fatherland. This is so because the well-being and happiness of the people in peace are the uppermost reason for the SED's actions because it feels itself responsible for everything that happens in our country and because we have made the key phrase "Everything with the people, everything by the people, everything for the people" the leitmotiv of our actions for over 4 decades, especially since the emerging of the KPD and the SPD into the SED.

The GDR people have achieved a standard of living never before seen in its history because of the continually increased power of our national economy. Basically it is

higher than the standard of living of the, as Federal Chancellor Kohl recently stated, "not only strongest industrial power but also military power in Western Europe," where, according to trade union representatives, the rich grow even richer and the poor become even poorer.

Yes, comrades, sometimes one forgets that:

—We have no mass unemployment, but full employment,
—We have no new poverty,
—We have no need of soup kitchens,
—We have fulfilled our feeding program,
—We have no educational crisis but a uniform socialist educational system, a 10-class general education polytechnical secondary school for all the children of the people,
—We have been implementing a comprehensive apartment-building program for 17 years,
—We reorganized our national economy in good time, namely 17 years ago, toward the intensification of a modern fund of fixed assets.

In order to be able to draw sound conclusions for further work it is appropriate to look at a longer period. This is the period that we began in 1971 with the 8th party congress. The time before this was heavily filled with the industrious and clever activities of our party and its Central Committee led by Comrades Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, and Walter Ulbricht, to clean up on an intellectual and material level, the expanse of ruins which Hitlerite fascism had left us after its war of conquest. Berthold Brecht expressed this appropriately in the song he presented to the youth at the beginning of our new construction. He said: "away with the rubble, and build something new, we have to look after ourselves; and if you're against us, show yourself, if you dare." We have achieved great things. Even upon the most critical of examinations no one can dispute that. First, we have eliminated the intellectual and the material ruins and we have built something new. Second, we have paid reparations to those countries which suffered the most under Hitlerite fascism. Third, with our anti-fascist-democratic transformation we have set the principles for the socialist transformation.

In short, allied with the farmers and the intelligentsia the working class has seen to it that in 1971 we could tackle the further fashioning of the developed socialist society at a higher level, the center-piece of which became the unity of economic and social policy. The saying "He who stands still gets left behind" has always spurred us on to fresh deeds. We wanted to move forward, and we have moved forward.

We start from the premise that the economic development in our country is characterized by rates of increase which are considerable even by international comparison. From 1971 to the present day we have noted an average annual increase of national income of more than four percent. Year by year a larger dimension which we could use for increasing our accumulated capacity and for consumption is behind every percent. If in 1970 a one percent growth in national income represented a volume of 1.2 billion marks, in 1987 this was 2.6 billion marks. In 1970 production of industrial goods of more than 240 billion marks was achieved, in 1987 this was 551 billion marks. It deserves to be stressed that in our country the increase in national income is increasingly based on rising labor productivity. Just as in the past 2 years, the increase in national income in 1988 will also be achieved by higher labor productivity.

The drafts for the 1989 National Economic Plan and state budget before the Central Committee are again fully in the spirit of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. They contain a further important step to strengthen the GDR economically and envisage great tasks, as befits our socialist, planned economy, which are based on a realistic analysis of existing forces and means.

For us a realistic plan is always a demanding plan, one which can be fulfilled by exerting all one's efforts and with the initiative of the workers. In this spirit its tasks base themselves on a qualified balancing of the development of the national economy. We always start from a high dynamism, which, above all, continually accelerates the speed of the scientific-technological revolution.

A realistic and at the same time demanding plan stimulates the energy, the knowledge, and the ability of the workers to achieve high performances day after day in socialist competition. All experiences confirm that such a plan also encourages looking for new ways to find additional reserves and exceed the aims of the plan. The manifold initiatives and duties which will be implemented on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in the movement "My workplace—my arena for peace" prove this once more.

Up until the last day of 1988 it is a question of leading the struggle to fulfill the 1988 National Economic Plan and to carry out the duties for the purposeful exceeding of it. The results up until now of the daily performances of production in the right assortment and in accordance with the orders of a high quality, are necessary for further expansion in socialist competition. It is a question of a high distributable end product for the good supply to the population, for the material-technological safety of production, and for the fulfillment of export tasks. For this it is indispensible to conscientiously fulfill the production targets in the state plan items and to ensure the necessary supplies. All of our experiences confirm that a universally fulfilled plan is the best basis for the trouble-free transition into the new year.

Completely in this spirit a realistic and demanding plan contains the securing of dynamic and at the same time stable economic growth. This remains the indispensible prerequisite in order to be able to increasingly better satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people, to

consolidate the economic power of the socialist state, and to guarantee the protection of the socialist achievements reliably in the future.

What do the fundamentally significant results in the development of our national economy on the path of intensification consist of and what conclusions are to be drawn?

1. If we note that national economic labor productivity, in terms of national incomes per worker in producing areas, has risen from 17,884 marks in 1970 to 27,515 marks in 1980 and to 36,749 marks in 1987 and has thus more than doubled, then that increase is linked to far-reaching changes in technology, organization, and the modernization of equipment in decisive areas of the national economy. The quantity of fixed assets per worker has increased from 79,217 marks in 1970 to 130,711 marks in 1980 and to 171,911 marks in 1987. In industry it rose from 102,291 marks in 1970 to 228,563 marks in 1987.

As a result of the increasing dynamism of the productive forces there came about in all developed industrial countries completely new possibilities of higher labor productivity. The international dynamism of this process is unbroken. We must not only keep pace with this tempo, we must accelerate our pace.

2. Of equally fundamental significance to the increase in labor productivity is the fact that since 1980 production has developed with constant, indeed falling material consumption. Energy expenditure per unit of production has so far been reduced to 69 percent of that used in 1980. In the use of raw materials and materials expenditure has fallen to 74 percent, including a fall to 58 percent in rolled steel in the metal processing industry.

International comparisons show that in the consumption of energy and raw materials we still have large reserves to be tapped in order to approach the level of the advanced industrial countries.

3. The GDR has achieved an export surplus every year since 1982. This is extremely important for the economic stability of our country, for the maneuvering room it provides in foreign economic affairs, and for the further realization of the unity of economic and social policy.

Let us take together the three points which I have considered here. The consistent realization of the economic strategy of our party, aimed at intensification, has introduced a far-reaching change in the structure of the national economy. In order to increase its strength, we are continuing it.

Work is now in progress on the basic concepts of future growth in performance.

The combining of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism will be moving further toward the center of planning in the coming years. In first place stands the rapid qualitative and quantitive expansion of our own production in the field if key technologies, especially microelectronics. The state plan for investments will concentrate on this task.

In all considerations on the future structure of the national economy we must take into account the fact that today already over 50 percent of the GDR's national income is influenced by foreign trade. Therefore, all measures for developing our production and its material-technical basis must be directed toward increasing the contribution of foreign trade to national income.

With a growing volume of accumulated funds it is now a matter of creating the conditions to ensure in the future, too, an increase in national income of about 4 percent per annum, which is necessary for the continuation of the policy of the main task.

United and with closed ranks we must do everything possible to raise the accumulated capacity in the productive sector of our national economy. A state plan for investment is being created as an instrument of central management and planning of our country's national economy for the further shaping of an effective structure of the national economy. In close connection with the state plan for science and technology it will contain economically decisive investment projects and the material-technical safeguarding of their implementation in order to produce products and technologies that set world standard technologies in a short period of time and with a high degree of economic profitability.

This state plan should contain no more that 30 projects of great economic importance.

For the GDR, as a country poor in raw materials but which possesses a developed processing industry and in particular a strong engineering industry and an efficient electrical engineering and electronics industry, microelectronics have become the decisive factor for its further improvement in performance. We are thus following an objective trend—the rapid development of productive forces at the present time—in order to utilize it for our advantage and in the interest of strengthening socialism. All this underlines the correctness of our path so far and the main thrust of conclusions for our further work. The completion of the first one megabit memory chip by a group from the Carl Zeiss Jena combine was a milestone that brought us a good bit further toward joining with the highest international level. However, we know that much remains to be done.

Even today it can be said that each success in developing productive forces in accordance with the highest criteria was on the basis of cooperation between the combines and factories and institutes of the Academy of Sciences and higher education.

Cooperation between science and production is proving itself to be viable and has become an indispensable basis for our continued economic and social advancement.

Concerning the housebuilding program, Erich Honecker said that setting and achieving goals of such extent and with such social policy effect is only possible in socialism. We are proud of this.

Since 1971 over 9 million citizens received new residences. That is more than half the GDR's population. The comfort of living conditions has improved considerably. Today 78 percent of residences have a bath or a shower. In 1970 that was 39 percent. The proportion of apartments with inside toilets rose from 39 percent in 1970 to more than 71 percent in 1988.

It is of considerable importance for the citizens that rents have been low and stable for more than 40 years. On average less than 3 percent of the net household income of a worker or clerk is spent on this.

Citizens' incomes in real terms have doubled since 1970. According to provisional calculations at the end of this year a retail trade turnover of around 127 million marks can be expected. In 1970 it was 64.1 billion marks.

The trades performance has risen by more than 60 percent compared to 1970. Services and repairs for the population grew particularly quickly in this area. In the same period these have increased by 2.8 times. Thus tradesmen perform over two-thirds of all repairs and services.

Tradesmen, retailers, and restauranteurs will continue to have a firm place and certain prospects in our socialist society.

Stable retail prices of goods for basic needs, of rents, fares, and services are a firm component of our party's economic and social policies. They are part of the atmosphere of social security for our country's citizens. To an increasing extent we are using money for goods for basic needs, fares, and services. If in 1971 the subsidies were around 8.5 billion marks, last year there were subsidies of 49.3 billion marks. In addition to this there are the already cited 61 billion marks for securing low and stable rents.

Not only the results in the housebuilding sector but also results in provisioning the population and maintaining stable prices for basic goods, rents, fares, and services are an enormous achievement of real socialism in people's interests.

In the spirit of our policies' continuity we start from the premise that the system of the socialist planned economy existing in the GDR has proved itself. With it, it was and is possible to master a continued rise in the performance of the national economy and a rising standard of living without crises, unemployment, and social upheaval. That is a historic achievement, the significance of which will continue to grow. At the same time this system of the planned socialist economy is flexible and capable of being further extended.

The nature of socialism and thereby its economy is not characterized by markets but by social ownership, its planned use, and increase in order to guarantee full employment and social security, in short the unity of economic and social policy. For this reason our planned socialist economy and the capitalist market economy are worlds apart.

We do not have a disturbed relationship with the existence of goods, value, money, costs, price, and profit. Quite the contrary. In every respect the unity of economic and social policy requires exact economic accounting and a committed struggle to improve the relationship between effort and result.

The fact that our combines and factories work profitably and yearly increase profits, bears witness to the health and strength of our socialist national economy.

Experience shows that the trade unions actively participate in the execise of power on socialist soil. In our state their word has weight, their proposals become reality and contribute to the structuring of the developed socialist society. Never before in their history have the trade unions had such authority and such a high reputation, which also extends internationally, because they are linked with a policy which only knows one aim—that of the well-being of the people.

In our country the socialist democracy does not end at the factory gate but receives its strongest impetus just there—in the sphere of work.

In the implementation of our economic strategy we start from the fact that the USSR is and remains our main partner. Here, the development and application of first-rate performances, the deepening of relations of cooperation and the increase in mutual trade are the focal point. We place great value on the further effective development of direct relations in research and production from the combines and enterprises of the GDR with their partners in the USSR.

The agrarian policy embedded in our social strategy increasingly determines village life. In the cooperatives and enterprises the policies of our party are widely supported and they work with initiative and with optimism toward solving tasks which are not always easy. In the second half of the eighties, too, the yield level in agricultural production increased further.

This year the grain harvest was under plan by 1.4 million tons. There are considerable shortfalls in sugar beet, by 2.6 million tons. The total agricultural production reveals a shortfall of 2.8 million tons, calculated in grain

equivalent units, as compared to the plan. Thus, the contribution of agriculture and forestry to the national income will be approximately 8 percent less than last year.

Supply is guaranteed stable. The cooperative farmers and workers are conscious of their responsibility to further maintain and qualitively strengthen the high level of supply of foods, achieved in the 40 years of the GDR's existence.

In accordance with our experiences in the GDR the cooperatives offer the best provisions and the suitable social framework for the farmer to remain a farmer. He is closely tied to the earth in the cooperatives for this is his property—in our country it was not nationalized. The farmer brought property into the cooperative farms in order to farm collectively. Thus the cooperative farms are proving themselves suitable to ensure the agreement of personal, collective, and social interests. Cooperative work and management has long become the only conceivable form of rural existence in the consciousness of our farmers.

After his remarks on science and higher and national education, health, and social services, Erich Honecker touched on questions of culture. The 10th GDR Graphic Artists' Association Congress was an outstanding social and cultural policy event. The delegates took up a position on the result of their work, such as the 10th Dresden Art Exhibition, as well as on the function of graphic art in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, in a democratic, constructive, and critical debate. Numerous proposals on increasing the participation of architectural art, on commissions, design, improving the material and social conditions of graphic artists and other problems were put forward which have to be solved by the association together with state bodies.

With local elections in 1989, he said, we shall take further steps toward perfecting our socialist democracy. At these elections citizen will decide on the composition of the 7,800 locally-elected bodies which will bear responsibility for the flourishing of towns and communities over the next 5 years. The candidates for the 203,000 seats should be such people who by working for the good of the people represent the interests of all strata of the population and who are known and recognized by the voters. In accordance with our traditions over many years a third more candidates will be put forward on the basis of the electoral law than there are seats available.

The development of socialist democracy is closely connected with the planned further shaping of our socialist state based on the rule of law. The perfection of socialist democracy is unthinkable without consolidation of the legal order, just as the extension in a well thought-out manner of rights and duties requires the democratic collaboration of citizens. In this spirit the Council of Ministers is, upon the recommendation of the Politburo, preparing proposals on the legal review of certain administrative decisions. These will be put to the People's Chamber. They further contribute to raising legal security in our country.

There is room for everyone in socialism and it needs the ideas and deeds of all those who wish to serve its flourishing and thus themselves. In these efforts we have been walking together for over 40 years with the DBD [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany], the CDU [Christian Democratic Union of Germany], the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], and the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] as our companions on the road and in arms. They brought into our alliance valuable political and social experiences, traditions from the revolutionary struggle of the German peasants, ideals of liberal, national, and democratic convictions as well as the social consequences of Christian ethics. Our friends have played a great part in these humanist values with the best of our people being able to develop fully in the GDR for the first time in German history.

With the democratic bloc and the National Front we found forms for cooperation in our alliance which have proven themselves well under the specific conditions of building socialism in the GDR.

On policies toward women Erich Honecker stated that in the course of the years not only had the proportion of women and girls who worked, learned, or studied risen to over 91 percent but also their training as skilled workers, masters, university, and technical school graduates had at 86.3 percent reached a level which puts them in a position of having jobs requiring high qualifications. No capitalist country can maintain anything close to this by itself.

The type of perforamnce the socialist society enables and motivates young people to achieve has been demonstrated in the most impressive way by our athletes in the 24th Olympic Games. By winning 102 medals they occupied after hard, fair competition with the best in the world an outstanding second place in the countries' medal table.

Regarding the securing of peace, Erich Honecker said that it had been noted in the report of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces to the Political Consultative Committee that the GDR completely fulfils its alliance obligations. The measure of our defense efforts does not depend on wishful thinking but is determined by the degree of the potential threat. We fashion the GDR's national defense in the interest of its citizens in accordance with our conditions, the current requirements, and our duties in the alliance.

Based on the trust of the working masses, closely allied to them, finding answers fitting our country to the constantly new questions of development, acting unitedly and cohesively, our party faces the challenges of the

nineties. The further shaping of the developed socialist society and the securing of peace, to which we have dedicated ourselves, are embodiments of our highest aim of doing everything for the well-being of the people. Our party comes from the people and it serves the people. This is how our voluntary militant alliance of like-minded people, of communists, understands itself and that is how it acts.

In the 40th year since the founding of the GDR we can note with great pleasure and not without emotion that the policy of our party is bearing rich fruit. We have created a modern socialist state on German soil and learned together with the people to manage that state. Thanks to the industry, creativity and initiative of the working class, the farmers, the intelligensia, the GDR, led by our party, has become a flourishing socialist state. The legacy of the greatest sons of our people, the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the revolutionary social democrats and those who called into being the KPD in the fire of the November Revolution 70 years ago, and of all those who backed progress in the course of the long, changing German history has been fulfilled. Scientific socialism has passed its test in practice. It has long been reality and no longer a utopia. The drawing up of the teaching of Marx and Engels and the enriching of it by V.I. Lenin prove to be a benefit for mankind, a benefit for our people.

Our Republic has in the truest sense of the word risen from ruins and is facing the future. The same can not be said of the FRG. There the antifascist democratic restructuring was crudely prevented above all by the Western occupying powers and the FRG pulled back into the restoration of capitalism. Many of us can still picture the spring of 1945, and recall the initial hoplessness of many, the tears of mothers who were crying for their sons and daughters, the lament of the children for the loss of their parents. Some thought at that time, the ruined wastes of World War II, that a normal life here would never again be possible.

It was communists and social democrats, staunch antifascists, who pointed to the way in which the chaos could be overcome. It was the time when the members of the Free German Youth [FDJ] marched through the streets with the now legendary song "Rebuild, rebuild, Free German Youth, rebuild" and, following the example of the activists of the first hour, started clearing away the rubble and repairing homes, factories and streets. The criminal ideology of Hitlerite fascism was increasingly driven out by antifascist convictions and the socialist ideology became the dominating one. At almost the same time the FDJ and somewhat later the KPD were banned in the FRG. Large numbers of police prevented the youth of the Federal Republic from visiting the GDR. Here I need only recall the first German meeting and Bertolt Brecht's report on the Herrnburger Weg.

Through ever new deeds and with good arguments the people were won over to cooperate in another, better life. What was created by the hands of the people was to belong to the people. This was how it was in the factories and this was how it was in the countryside, where with land reform the centuries-old dream of the peasants to be masters of their own land was fulfilled. All spheres of social life were thoroughly transformed for the benefit of the people. Here the main thing was, is, and will remain the power of the workers and peasants.

It was then, and it remains also today a matter of, through responsible work, serving peace and increasing the social assets of the people. It is only through industrious work that we have progressed in the building of the new society. A mighty force emanated from the slogan: "As we work today, so we will live tomorrow". It has retained its topicality.

Already at the time of the Weimar Republic, that is to say at the time of the struggle for power, we were opposing the bourgeois slander that we were in favor of a levelling down and that under socialism and industrious person would earn no more than a less industrious person. It was Karl Marx who, in his "critique of the Gotha program", established that in socialism each would be rewarded according to his abilities and each according to his performance. Only at a higher phase of the communist society, he wrote, was the principle of "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" valid. This awareness has made it possible for our party, together with our allies, to lay down the next steps at each stage of development.

Labour productivity was and is the decisive factor. It is, as Lenin said, in the final analysis the most important thing for the victory of the new social order over the old. The course of the unity of economic and social policy followed since the 8th party congress in 1971 is also determined by these principles. For the strengthening of the social aspects of the work of construction we switched with the 8th party congress at the latest to intensification and to an immediate and also forward-looking improvement in the standard of living.

Who would have thought it possible years ago that we will soon have solved the housing problem as a social issue, that today we possess the technology for the production of a 1-megabit memory chip and that the principle of equal education for all is just as axiomatic as full employment, social security, and stable prices for basic necessities, rents, fares, and services.

We always let ourselves be governed by the fact that the image of socialism, one can say today in the shape of the GDR, increases above all in the same degree that scientific-technological progress is linked to social progress. The GDR takes into account—this is what we have confirmed in the period under review by the Politburo in determining our further course—that the scientific-technological revolution can be completely mastered with the guaranteeing of full employment and the standard of living of the people without mass unemployment and

new poverty. One can learn just as little from the capitalist profit economy about the harmony of material and social development as one can about humanity and justice.

We are committed to our people and to their well-being, and we serve their interests. With this the spirit of socialism is revealed even more clearly—the well-being of the people through the elimination of the exploitation of people by people, the development of all people's talents and capabilities, their active cooperation an all questions of social development. The clearness on the meaning of our struggle, the knowledge, and the understanding of our social concept, the cooperation in our reconstruction work and the experiencing of its reality, the experiences from our wide policy of alliance, and the care of our intellectual and cultural heritage have implanted the ideas of socialism deeply and indelibly in the GDR people.

If we speak of socialism, of the paths and requirements of its further structuring after the resolutions of the 11th party congress, then we know exactly what we are talking about. Socialism as a theory and as a practice arose from the basic interests of the working class and of all workers to liberate themselves from exploitation, repression, and war. As a social order it is that association of free citizens which Marx and Engels characterized in the Communist Manifesto as a society in which a person can be a person. Our party has in its social policy always started from the fact that universally applicable legalities form the basis of the establishment and development of socialism. The safeguarding of the working class power and the consolidation of its alliance with all working classes and strata, the qualitative higher development of socialist ownership relations, and the continual strngthening of the political leadership role of the party of the working class are just as imperative for the existence and further improvement of socialism as the continuous consolidation of the community in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

On this basis our party has developed its social concept and has continually further expanded it by the theoretical and practical resolving of new maturing questions. This always takes place under consideration of the essential characteristics and values of socialism and the concrete conditions and requirements of our country, our history, the traditions and the experiences in the struggle of the German workers' movement and of the German people, as well as the fact that two independent German states exist alongside one another with different social orders and alliance affiliations.

In its character the construction of socialism is a revolutionary process. Embedded in it, we have carried out a multitude of transformations and reforms. The elasticity that we have shown in this must not be wasted by us in the future. It is necessary for us to keep our goal in mind at all times—the further structuring and the further consolidation of the developed socialist society. It is necessary to prepare oneself for the new at any time, and, under whatever conditions, to hold the course on the aim of pursuing consistently the path already mapped out. Here it is always a question of the unity of continuity and renewal.

The GDR is not an island of the blessed, and no halo of infallability should be ascribed to it. However, this should not prevent us from deepening the awareness of all citizens that our successes in developing an advanced socialist society are the result of the creative work of millions of people and that socialism is the only possible alternative to the capitalist society. With every step in the implementation of our social strategy, we give proof of the historic superiority of the world of socialism which demonstrates its mulfifariousness in its very unit.

The slogan formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "proletarians of all countries, unite!" loses none of its importance in this matter. The dialectic of the national and the international increases the responsibility of every party toward its people and toward the international movement. The class content of the policy of peaceful coexistence is not lost in this either. Anyone suffering from this illusion will one day have a rude awakening. The triumph of socialism does not depend on some sort of wishful thinking but rather on the laws of the development of human society in which revolutions are the driving forces of history and in which the peoples who are already building socialism are constantly enriching it with new achievements.

All this should, in our view, find its place in the mass political work in preparation of our 12th party congress, the preparation for the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the first socialist state of the workers and peasants on German soil.

In a few weeks, we are solemnly celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany. One can see the full historical importance, of the fact that, as a result of this, shortly after the November Revolution, a political force came into being which was capable of leading the working class and all workers in the fight against imperialism, militarism, and war and for socialism and peace with clear objectives. These 7 decades are heroic, self-sacrificing, and imperishable chapters in the history of the German workers' movement. which find their crowning glory in the creation and successful development of our socialist GDR.

While we are acquitting ourselves of the tasks of the present with the year 2000 in view, and while we aproach the elaboration of the tasks for the nineties, we are (?continuing) the work which has already been carried out. The decisions of the 7th Central Committee session will be a valuable support to all party organizations in this work.

EEC-Hungarian Agreement Takes Effect 1 Dec

LD0212022088 Budapest MTI in English 1058 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Brussels, December 1 (MTI)—The commercial and economic cooperation agreement between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Hungary took effect on December 1. The ratification documents of the first agreement between the EEC and a CEMA member state were exchanged in Brussels on November 23.

The first session of the bilateral joint committee is to be held in the Hungarian capital in the next few days. The two-day session will be attended by a 40-member delegation, headed by Willy de Clercq, who is in charge of external relations and trade policy in the EEC Commission.

Hungary is soon to accredit its first ambassador to the EEC. However, it may hinder the dynamism of diplomatic relations that the community held out the prospect of establishing diplomatic missions with limited staff for all CEMA member countries with which it recently established contacts. The diplomatic staff of Hungary and some other CMEA countries will have three members including an ambassador.

1988 was a year of approach between the EEC and Hungary. This process developed in parallel with the establishment of relations between the EEC and the CMEA that led to the signing of a joint statement on June 25. The agreement between Hungary and the EEC was initialed on June 30 and signed on September 26, and diplomatic relations were established on August 10.

According to observers in Brussels, the agreement covered the widest possible field. It is the first agreement in this relation that envisages the elimination of quantitative restrictions and marks out important fields of economic cooperation. It is considered the joint committee to meet in Budapest may make advances particular in agriculture, where obstacles hinder two-way trade.

MSZMP Politburo Members Queried on Session

LD2911201888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] The MSZMP Politburo has held a session. At the usual spokesman's briefing, our editorial team was represented by Pal Toth:

[Toth] Among other things the Politburo debated its relation to the People's Front [PPF]. Is there a difference, or a significant difference, in the evaluation compared with previously? Laszlo Major, the MSZMP spokesman:

[Begin recording] [Major] I do not think that the party radically reevaluated its relation to the PPF. Rather, it dealt with the way in which the PPF is changing in the new circumstances, for the MSZMP is one of the founder-member organizations of the PPF, a PPF which is now on the threshold of renewal because it must adapt to the new political situation. It must seek contact with all those new groupings, organizations, which have appeared on the Hungarian political scene, in which light the MSZMP Politburo examined the renewal of the PPF—or its intention to be renewed.

[Toth] In the latest Central Committee session, they took the standpoint that they wish to influence through the party organizations which operate there, the work which is carried on there. But, the dialogue with the alternative movements also had to be reviewed, and there are hardly party groups or cells there.

[Major] Yes, the question of alternative groups was also touched on, because the PPF's attempts to a conversation, a dialogue with these groups, too—and if possible to involve them in the activity of the PPF —is becoming more and more crystallized. What you mentioned just now was again formulated at the PPF session. It was suggested that in the renewal attempts, the communists should increasingly participate in residential and PPF debates; also that they should form communist groups within the PPF.

[Toth] Imre Kovacs, head of the economic policy department, you listened to the Politburo debate dealing with employment policy. The Politburo accepts the unemployment which is now manifesting itself, or regards it as a necessary course which is temporary, which can be eliminated, which they must eliminate.

[Kovacs] Even alongside a more demanding preparation, education, an economy which determines more precisely a better scale of values, and an exigent labor force mediation, work force management is not impossible. We even have to reckon with the fact that temporarily there will be those who are left without work.

The party recognizes this. Without this, it seems that a structural transformation, economic efficiency, cannot be imagined even within socialist relations. But the party cannot accept the idea of lasting and mass unemployment. It is precisely for this reason that a more demanding, significantly wider employment policy than earlier is needed in order to avoid this problem.

But if, ultimately, a worker reaches the point where he temporarily loses his job, then social security must be created for him through benefits.

[Toth] Well, this is domestic policy, and the Politburo reviewed some domestic policy subjects, too.

[Major] Yes, the Politburo debated some timely questions, which it will recommend for review by the Central Committee at its next session.

[Toth] What, for example?

[Major] The role of the party, our alliance policy, questions connected with this. And at the same time, let me add that this next session, on the basis of the Central Committee's decision today, will take place 15 December. This is when the Central Committee has been convened. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Discusses Domestic Issues

1989 Budget Reviewed

LD0212052088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Report by Laszlo Juszt]

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers session began at 10 o'clock this morning. For the first time Miklos Nemeth, the new premier, chaired the session. Gyorgy Marosan appeared this afternoon to brief journalists on the points the ministers had discussed.

Since the National Assembly did not adopt the budget for next year, the Council of Ministers had to discuss it once again. It is necessary to produce another 15-17 billion forints from the state budget for 1989; more precisely, since the National Assembly determined the rate of enterprise profit tax at 50 percent, it is this sum which is missing and which keeps the deficit at around 25 billion forints, the acceptable level.

The next National Assembly will not approve any tax increases, at least it is more than likely that this will be the case. Thus, other solutions had to be found. One solution is already known: the missing sum will come from the dividend paid on state property. Looking at the other components of the budget, the government has decided to reduce defense expenditures, that is—the expenditures by the armed forces. It must be added, however, that a decline in the orders for military supplies will create difficulties for further enterprises.

From among the state subsidies, the subventions for exports to the rouble accounting area could be reduced by 10 percent. This could also save many billions of forints for the budget.

The central organs and the councils would receive in total 2 billion, 800 million forints less; within this, the central budgetary organs will be able to use 1.8 billion forints less than was originally planned. The plan is that the subsidies for supporting the functioning of the social organizations will be reduced by 15 percent.

The next item on the Council of Ministers agenda was the wages mechanism for 1988-1989. On this topic State Secretary Czaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor, briefed the journalists.

[Begin Halmos recording] The Council of Ministers today made invalid 17 decrees previously issued by the Council of Ministers or by the State Office for Wages and Labor. The wages mechanism for next year will be contained in a single decree issued by the Council of Ministers. The length of this will be, instead of hundreds of pages, a mere seven and one-half. The first, very important step of the wages reform will probably take place in 1989, when a wages mechanism will be adopted. It will be more liberal than any previous wages regulation or any earlier intention formulated by the government. [end recording]

This possibility, which the government now places into the hands of the enterprises can, if you like, also work against the anti-inflationary policy. This is why the role of the enterprises increases considerably, and the same can be said of the trade unions and of the chamber. Self-discipline will be needed regarding wages in 1989.

The Council of Ministers will discuss further issues today, including the housing. [passage omitted]

Medgyessy Speaks on Reform Policy

AU2211192888 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 21 Nov 88 pp 19, 21

[Article by Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers: "Without More Courage to Adopt the Market System, There Will Be No Renewal of the Political System"]

[Text] Twenty years ago, Hungary abolished the centralized planned economy (control of the economy based on binding plan targets) and thus initiated its reform policy course. Though the reform process came to a halt from time to time and several setbacks were suffered, there is no doubt that the important results of the reform cannot be denied.

The selection of goods on the consumer market has increased at a tremendous pace. Ownership conditions have become more diverse; apart from state enterprises, smoothly operating cooperatives are flourishing in an increasing number of fields, and recently the number of small enterprises has also soared. These small enterprises are based on initiatives and the acceptance of risks on the part of the citizens, and constitute a novelty in the history of socialism.

In the majority of large-scale state enterprises, the directors' direct dependence on state authority has been abolished. The directors of Hungarian enterprises are managers who are interested in the success of their businesses, and they are certainly not civil servants.

All this makes us progress more rapidly, develop the market elements in the economy with courage, and democraticize our society. The Hungarian economy will be able to adapt to the far-reaching changes of the past decades and to the newly formulated criteria of streamlined economic leadership only at the price of further basic changes.

Hungary was among those countries which, in the aftermath of the first oil-price explosion in the mid-seventies, suffered considerable losses in its competitiveness, and its debts increased rapidly. In the early eighties, a halt to further increasing foreign debts was achieved, mainly by slowing the growth rate, as well as by reducing accumulation and consumption; however, structural adaptation could not be achieved by force.

The New Leadership Has Drawn the Necessary Conclusions

Prolonged stagnation and inflation have continued to worsen the general well-being of society. This is why after 1984 focus was put on stimulating growth and slowing price increases, while institutional reforms with the aim of achieving adaptation by force and financial austerity were suppressed. This caused a rapid increase of the Hungarian debts and the budget deficit. We were able to stop this process in 1987.

The new leadership has drawn adequate conclusions. The tensions that have existed for a decade were a result of economic conditions that had changed to our disadvantage, but also of the weakness of our own adaptability and the inconsistencies of the reform policy.

It was also confirmed that Hungary's main ailment lies in the structural problem, because even in times of economic upswing the country has been able to find the rhythm that is required for progress. It also became obvious that the economic policy and economic control as practiced over the past few decades are not suited to provide the stimulus for the necessary change, a change, which in turn should stimulate the economy.

Radical Changes in the Government Program

The Government program that was adopted by parliament in 1987 announced radical changes: Adapting the structures and halting indebtedness have to be tackled at the same time, even at the price of sharp temporary conflicts. Economic reform has to be speeded up and implemented consistently by organically linking it with political reforms and associating it with democratizing society and openly clarifying the interests.

The answer to the question that is asked so often these days—how could the situation have become so bad—is as follows: Before, there was inadequate supervision by society. Due to a lack of pluralism, a lack of openness, and of a smooth running representation of interests, supervision could not be made efficient. Thus, the conditions of social policy have to be developed in such a way that interests will show up clearly and can be shaped into a platform. Political, legal, and institutional guarantees are necessary to harmonize these interests.

The national party conference worked out the development program for the political institutions; the renewal of the party has already begun. The role of parliament has to be revalued by strengthening the control of the executive power and by ensuring society's intervention and participation in shaping policy and in the leadership. This has to be laid down in the new constitution, which is being drawn up at the moment. The right to assemble and the right to organize are regulated by law.

The formation of new positions in the trade union is also part of the renewal of the political institutional system, because this is an important prerequisite for social consensus that has been put on a new basis. It is our firm intention to progress toward pluralism. To achieve this, the social and political roles of owners and employers have to be separated more clearly, in order to create unequivocal spheres of tasks and responsibilities. A law on trade unions and the right to strike is in preparation.

The party conference created the personnel conditions for the consequent implementation of the reform policy. This resulted in an irreversible situation, in which a break with the past and a dividing line with regard to the economic policy of the preceding years were made possible. The party conference made it possible to change to a different course of development. It is clear that rifts cannot be avoided, but that even today there are chances to adopt an economic policy that can be implemented in practice.

Our objective is the shaping of the social and economic environment, of institutions and interest relations, in which the market can become the comprehensive power for coordinating the economy.

A prerequisite for this is reducing the protected position of entrepreneurs—which was partly maintained by force, anyway—and, simultaneously, increasing the autonomy of enterprises. This will be guaranteed by the corporation and company law, which was adopted at the beginning of last October, and by the law on profit tax, which will be neutral with regard to competition and will be discussed in parliament in November.

Toward a Mixed Economy

We are heading toward a system of mixed economy, in which collective, though not state-run, forms of ownership are predominant, and where private ownership will play a much more important role than today.

Opening up toward the world economy and an organic incorporation into the worldwide division of labor are an integral part of the change of the course of the economic policy. In the future, development policy will be based on international standards of efficiency. We intend to shape the policy of cooperation within CEMA in such a way that it will serve to improve our international competitiveness.

An organic component, maybe even the central element of the policy of opening up, lies in achieving the partial convertibility of the forint within the foreseeable future. We have decided to undertake the necessary monetary and fiscal steps and we believe we will achieve partial convertibility within 3 years.

With regard to influencing the economy, monetary and interest-rate policy are of great importance, and currency policy is to gain an increasing role in settling the demand for imports. Restrictions are necessary, also with regard to budget expenditure. The bankruptcy act, which is already available for dealing with unprofitable enterprises, is to be applied more consistently, even though this may result in insufficient capacity utilization, temporary unemployment, and economic losses in the short term.

In order to strengthen the role of the market and competition as regards the coordination of the economy, we have decided to liberalize and deregulate the economy. Liberalization means going from administrative restrictions to free access to the factors of production (labor, capital, foreign currency); the free shaping—unrestricted by any unofficial influence—of products, production processes, and prices; and equality of opportunity with regard to conditions for market access, for founding enterprises (including companies with the participation of foreign capital), and for closing them.

As of 1988, general turnover tax and personal income tax have been introduced; the neutrality and transparency of the tax system and the possibilities to check on it have been increased. This year the pricing system has also been liberalized.

A key element of the program and, at the same time, the most urgent task is the liberalization of foreign trade. This involves the gradual expansion of import possibilities, as well as an exchange-rate policy that reflects the economic capacity in a realistic way. Other important elements of the change in economic policy involve deregulation and the speedy elimination of state regulations, various rules, economy based on general financial provisions, and various obligations concerning bookkeeping, statistics, etc. In spite of and in addition to the planned measures, the anti-inflation efforts of the economic policy are to be intensified; this year's 17-percent price increase is to be steadily reduced over the next few years. The institutional reforms to expand the market economy, that is—the reform of ownership conditions and the regulation of competition are being continued.

The development of the capital and securities market will be increased because, without this, the regrouping of production factors in profitable fields would be very cumbersome. In harmony with this, the first buds of a money and securities market have already emerged and will be further developed in the future.

In order to encourage the import of foreign capital, important simplifications are envisaged so as to make easier the acquisition of production and management skills that promote adjustment in the field of developed technology. A law on foreign investments will be submitted to parliament. The law will ensure the extraordinary support granted to date and, at the same time, will promote the establishment of a corresponding infrastructure and grant state guarantees.

The corporation law (company law) will also facilitate the entry of stock companies that have been developed by restructuring existing companies. The foreign investor can even purchase the entire stock. We are confident that this will create the necessary interest and, at the same time, will be a good service to the economic and trade relations between East and West.

Change in Thinking in Social Policy is Necessary

Given appropriate conditions in the international economy, Hungary's situation in Europe can be stabilized by means of the economic policy explained above. The restructuring of the economy and the development of the market elements will necessarily exacerbate the differentiation in society.

Phenomena which were previously considered alien to the nature of socialism will have to be accepted—phenomena such as temporary and partial unemployment and the undermining of existential security, which previously was considered a socialist achievement. Our basic position is: Not all problems can be dealt with as sociopolitical issues. There will also be strata for whom one still has to find the necessary means to overcome the unbearable tensions.

Next year an institutional system to deal with the existential problems of those who are temporarily unemployed will be introduced. At present, a change in thinking with regard to social policy is the main task. Our goal is the management of a modern system, which grants existential security and equality of opportunity to those needing them most, and promotes their integration into society, but does not make this integration effortless, and also relies on the citizens' ability to defend themselves. Within the framework of this system, a new pension system is being worked out, and forms of solutions to support families with many children are being studied.

Budgetary Issues Discussed Further

LD2411001888 Budapest MTI in English 2202 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—At its Wednesday session, the Hungarian Council of Ministers approved Karoly Grosz's report on his official visit to Spain and France. The government discussed the draft law on the 1989 state budget, and decided to present it to parliament. On this issue, the Council of Ministers discussed the budgetary wage policy of the next few years

and the opinions of the Central People's Control Committee. The government heard a report on pension measures planned for 1989 and the organizational modernization of government.

After the session, Gyorgy Marosan, spokesman for the government, said that the Council of Ministers met in session at an unusual time, Wednesday afternoon, because of the parliamentary session to begin on thursday. Karoly Grosz, who chaired the government session for the last time, gave a report on his official visits. Then the government discussed next year's budget, the budgetary wage policy and the comment of the Central People's Control Committee.

The targets of the budget reflect the country's economic tensions and tasks stemming from this situation require greater efforts. The planned deficit of the central budget is almost 25,000 million forints. This year the deficit is expected to stand at 15,000 million forints. Further measures should be taken to prevent a greater increase, Mr Marosan said.

Assembly Committee Discusses Taxation
LD2211114588 Budapest MTI in English
1313 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—It will be necessary to reduce real wages by between 6 and 7 per cent next year, and therefore, it is impossible to ease tax burdens, said Deputy Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi, addressing a parliament ad hoc committee on taxation, today. He added, in case income taxes were reduced, corporate taxes should be raised.

Minister for Finance Miklos Villaniy said tax burdens could be lessened only if the process of withdrawing support from state companies were to be accelerated. He said people should not be encouraged to up their incomes by lower taxes but by higher pay for higher outputs.

The head of the parliamentary committee and HSWP Political Committee member Mr Rezso Nyers stated the tax burdens of individuals should not increase next year, as taxes already swallow 11.7 per cent of taxable incomes. Social security dues absorb another 10 per cent.

Last year the budget drained away 70 per cent of company profits, this year the percentage dropped to 60. Half of all Hungarian companies could increase profits by 50 percent this year.

Under the present tax system, if maintained for next year, only 50 per cent of company profits would flow to the budget and this would bloat the current deficit of 18 billion forints (USD 333 million) to 60-65 billion (USD 1.16 billion).

The government is therefore intent on keeping corporate tax at 60 per cent. The players in the economic game are therefore confronted with a no-win alternative: Either companies or individuals will be under squeezed and in the end neither can escape.

The MPS discussed a ministry of finance proposal on the readjustment of the personal income tax system, a move justified by an increase in nominal incomes.

The idea behind the changes is that taxes should not increase as a consequence of a rise in incomes.

The government has put forward a motion containing two alternative tables, both of them raising the limit of untaxable incomes from 48,000 to 55,000 forints, while the highest tax bracket is to be lowered to 54 per cent and in the other version to 58 per cent, instead of the present 60 per cent. (The highest tax bracket is valid for incomes exceeding 600,000 forints - USD 11,100. This is six or more times higher than the average monthly salary).

The taxes for incomes under 400,000 forints (USD 7,400) a year are also expected to go down considerably.

The Ministry of Finance fears all these tax amendments might slash budget incomes by 11 billion forints (U.S.D. 203 million), so companies will have to be taxed more heavily.

Economic Chamber Submits Position to Parliament
AU2811194888 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Nov 88 p 5

["Position of the Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber—Conditions of Enterprise Management Are Deteriorating"]

[Text] The Hungarian Economic Chamber has mailed the following document to every National Assembly deputy:

1. The Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber is of the opinion that the outlines of considerably more disadvantageous economic circumstances for the economic units have emerged during the preparation of the people's economic plan for 1989 and of the system of economic regulators.

All this is related to the increased budget deficit and the lasting inflation. The real amount of our budget deficit is questionable. The Presidium is of the opinion that the detailed accounting of budget expenditures for 1988-91 and the justification for these expenditures should be made available to the economic units.

2. The Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber proposes that the government work out an economic policy that takes into consideration starting an anti-inflationary policy as early as next year.

3. The Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber does not agree with the withdrawal of an increasing percentage of net income derived from the production sphere. There is no justification for the fact that contrary to previous efforts, the system of withdrawals and subsidies has not been simplified, and new fund withdrawals are being introduced in the form of various taxes and previous forms of fund withdrawals are appearing under new names.

4. The clarity of the budget should be improved. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to separate subsidies, incentives, and expenditures both in theory and in practice.

The domestic expenditures related to the socialist interstate turnover should be planned and operated as a separate mechanism of price equalization within the budget.

The introduction of the central housing fund does not contribute to solving the tensions prevailing in the housing management; it only reduces the budget deficit. Therefore, the Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber does not agree with the introduction of this fund.

The introduction of a system of various central funds that burden the enterprise resources beyond the aforementioned ones (central technological development, training, rehabilitation, and other funds) only leads to a vast accumulation of payment and accounting obligations. The Economic Chamber does not agree with this. We should return to the principle according to which a single tax takes care of the distribution of funds deriving from the enterprise incomes.

The Presidium of the Hungarian Economic Chamber does not regard it as justified to introduce a property tax or share in addition to the proposed size of the enterprise profit tax.

5. The Presidium is of the opinion that, as a cumulative result of the withdrawal measures of these funds, the desirable structural changes will not occur and the necessary increase in the enterprises' scope will also fail to materialize.

6. The planned tightening measures in the framework of monetary regulations will further increase the solvency problems facing the economic units, which as a result of the payment disturbances will upset the domestic production, cooperation, and transportation contacts.

7. The Presidium is of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary that the considerably tightening budget and monetary policies be coupled with a stronger economic liberalization and that the independence and freedom of economic organizations increase.

8. As a result of the well-known measures, the economic sphere will become overly taxed in 1989. In this situation, it is particularly important that next year the yearly government measures that affect the enterprises' incomes occur only if predetermined conditions emerge and only if the economic sphere is made aware of these measures in advance.

9. The Hungarian Economic Chamber is of the opinion that before increasing incomes, it is necessary to focus primarily on actually reducing the budget and state management expenditures, making the budget institutions manage more economically, and consequently, on savings.

Parliamentary Proceedings Held 26 Nov

LD2711114188 Budapest MTI in English
2141 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—On Saturday, [26 November], the third day of the November session of the Hungarian parliament, MP's discussed and approved the bill on the central technical development fund with 13 votes against and 10 abstentions.

Then Kalmal Kulcsar, minister of finance [title as received], submitted a report on the bill related to the law on business associations.

MP's agreed that the bill on the amendment to the civil code and that on the protection of foreign investment would be discussed at the December session. They approved the bill on the amendment to the criminal code, and the bill on the amendment to the rules of civil procedures, along with the modifications submitted by the committee. MP's approved the bill on the amendment to the 2nd law of 1979 on state finances, along with the modifications submitted by the committee. Parliament also approved the 23rd law of 1985 on the taxation of edifices used not for dwellings.

Parliament approved the report of the minister of finance on the development of certain estimates of the state budget of 1988. MP's approved that the subsidies granted to budgetary bodies be raised by 275 million forints for central budgetary bodies, and 678 million forints for local councils, that is—by an overall 953 million forints, from the budgetary reserve.

Then parliament reviewed a report by the Presidential Council on its decrees of legal force framed between the two sessions. Parliament asked the Presidential Council to revoke the decree of legal force and guns and ammunition, and to replace it by a law. The third day of parliament concluded with interpolations and questions late in the afternoon.

The November session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued with the debate on the Bill on the Central Technical Development Fund. Pal Tetenyi, president of the National Technical Development Committee, had submitted the bill on Friday evening.

On behalf of the Planning and Budgetary Committee, it was pointed out that the only way out of the present difficult situation was the improvement of technical standards and competitiveness. Research and technical development is playing a determining role in both. The Central Technical Development Fund, falling under the government's sphere of authority, it was said, has stood the test of the past three decades, and its regulation has been necessitated by the adjustment to the economic reform processes.

In the preliminary debate on the submission, MP's underlined that Hungary was not determined enough in adopting developed Western technology, and emphasized that a definite change of view was required in this area, both in companies and leading bodies.

MP's pressed for the savings of the population to become involved in technical development, and said it was necesary that the Council of Ministers submit an annual report on the use of the fund.

Following three contributions, Mr Tetenyi said that risk capital is being encouraged to play an ever-increasing role in technical development.

Owing to the establishment of the single Western European market from 1992, technical development projects related in infrastructure must be given priority in the next five-year plan period, he emphasized.

On the employment of Hungarian experts and researchers abroad, Mr Tetenyi pointed out that personnel contacts established this way are very important.

Then MP's approved the amendment submitted in the report of the Planning and Budgetary Committee, with three votes against and four abstentions. The Bill on the Central Technical Development Fund was approved with the accepted amendments with 13 votes against and 10 abstentions.

Kalman Kulcsar, minister of Justice, presented the second topic on the agenda, the proposals on the law on business associations. The law on business associations, passed at the October session of parliament, makes it necessary to revise the whole legal system to bring it into accord with the new law, the minister emphasized. The law also necessitates an amendment to the civil code in the first place. Several legal institutions need to be amended and reregulated. Mr Kulcsar asked MP's to amend the civil code at the December session of parliament when the bill on foreign investment in Hungary, which also makes necessary an amendment to the civil code, will be submitted. It would not be expedient to amend the law at two consecutive sessions. He proposed the MP's include two criminal acts into the criminal code. Under the first clause, office holders of economic associations fraudulent towards the members or about the property of the association should be prosecuted. The other clause would serve the protection of the creditors of an economic association by means of declaring the encroachment upon the equity or capital a crime. The minister pointed out that the law on state finances needs to be amended to bring it into line with the bills on business associations, corporate profit tax, and that on assembly and associations coming into force on January 1st, 1989.

The bill on the conversion of business associations and the amendment to the land law, along with several significant legal decrees, are under way, said the minister.

MP's approved the report.

The third point on the agenda of the Saturday session of parliament was the debate on the written report on certain estimates of the state budget of 1988. The law on the budget allocates 108,500 million forints to subsidize budgetary bodies and 96,100 million forints for councils. The amount of subsidies in 1988 was 953 million forints in excess of the plan. The bulk of it had to be granted for central wage rises and to offset the devaluation of the forint. The minister of finance asked parliament for authorization to grant subsidies above the planned figure from the budgetary reserve.

The report also included the fact that, owing to the latest decision on cutting back loss-making enterprises, subsidies to mining will drop by 700 million forints. Subsidies earmarked for metallurgy and meat production will not increase.

According to the report, contributions of companies and taxes levied upon consumption will amount to 324-326 million forints this year, more than planned. The surplus of the budget will fall short of that planned by between 4,000 and 5,000 million forints.

Parliament approved the report on the development of certain estimates of the state budget of 1988 with 15 votes against and 15 abstentions. With 10 votes against and 31 abstentions, MP's approved that the budgetary bodies raise the amount of subsidies by 953 million forints from the budget's reserve.

As the fourth point on the agenda, parliament discussed the report of the Presidential Council on its decrees of legal force framed between the two sessions. The decree of legal force on guns and ammunition gave rise to anxiety throughout the country because it planned to liberalize the holding and sale of gas and alarm pistols and air guns. In the debate, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, announced the decision of the Presidential Council to put this decree of legal force on the agenda again. Amidst MP's approval, he said that he would propose that parliament revoke the decree.

Mihaly Torok, secretary of the Defence committee, who said the decree as a whole was topical and necessary, explained that the committee proposed as early as June that gas and alarm pistols not be included in the draft. It

was wrong to assume that in line with the increase in crime the population should protect itself. This was up to the police force, said Mr Torok. The committee maintains its proposal that issues of great significance should be regulated in a law and not in a decree.

A Budapest MP, Mr Pal Fillo, (head of department at the Atheneum Printing House) asked why the opinion of the Defence Committee had not been taken into consideration in the decree of legal force. 'If we want to take parliament's opinion seriously, not only the committee's opinion but that of each MP must be taken into consideration.'

In the debate, Janos Juhar, MP, a general practitioner in Pomaz, said that 10,000 signatures had been collected demanding that the decree be amended.

Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, underlined that the government was not going to oppose public will. With three abstentions, MP's asked the Presidential Council to work out a bill on guns and ammunition and revoke the decree of legal force. With one modification, parliament approved the report of the Presidential Council.

As the last point on the agenda, MP's interpolated and asked questions. First, Bertalan Sudi, secretary of the Party Committee of the Petofi Agricultural Cooperative of Janoshalma, interpolated to the president of the supreme court. He said that it was detrimental for cooperatives to have to take liability for the debts of specialized groups breaking away from them. The legal practice in this question was also controversial.

Dr Jeno Szilbereky, president of the Supreme Court, said that the Presidium of the Supreme Court had taken a stand in the controversial case, and the decree of legal force did not restrict the liability of cooperatives to civil debts.

Mr Sudi did not accept the answer, but parliament approved it with 21 votes against and 153 abstentions. Then MP's asked the speaker to count the 'yeas': there were 183 of them.

Mrs R. Weiszbock, retired factory manager from Sopron, interpolated to the minister of transport on the bad conditions of roads, the modernization of Sopron border station and the Sopron bypass on the M84.

She said that traffic at the border stations of Sopron and Hegyeshalom had risen by 135 per cent since March. The plans for the border station and the bypass were ready, but the projects could not be launched owing to a lack of money.

Laszlo Toth, state secretary at the Ministry of Transport, acknowledged that the request was just, and stated that the construction of the Sopron bypass could by no means be launched in the 7th five-year-plan period. Mrs Weiszbock accepted the answer, but asked MP's that the Sopron bypass be given priority over the border station projects. MP's approved the answer of the state secretary, with the modification of the interpolator, with 18 votes against and 37 abstentions.

Budapest MP Karoly Hellner, head of department at the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, objected to stipulating the interest rate on the population's deposits by decrees of legal force.

Dr Kalman Kulcsar acknowledged that a rise in the 8-percent per annum interest rate on the deposits was long overdue. He added that the population's bank transactions would be reviewed in 1989 and interest rates modified. He asked parliament to discuss the interpolation again next year.

The MP and parliament unanimously approved the answer.

in the final interpolation, Dr Frigyes Tallosy, MP for Budapest and legal advisor to a cooperative, asked the minister of construction and town development about the renting out of flats.

Minister Laszlo Somogyi said that in 1987 only 766 homes had been built without loans from the state, companies or social support, that is—only 766 families have full ownership over their homes. All other dwellings finished last year were granted significant subsidies. It would encroach upon social justice if these flats were to be rented out. This was why the Ministry was seeking to establish the legal frames for the National Savings bank or the creditor company to be able to abrogate the contract in such cases. Having the debt serviced, citizens will have the right to rent out their homes.

The answer was unanimously approved. Finally, Zoltan Kiraly, MP for Csongrad County and editor/reporter of the Hungarian television studio in Szeged, questioned the minister of the interior. Referring to the decree enacted by the Ministry of the Interior in 1945, which stipulates the registration of intention in case of demonstrations and rallies, he asked on what legal regulations had Budapest police banned the planned solidarity demonstration held to mark the first anniversary of the workers' uprising in Brassov. Why had the police dispersed the demonstration?

Outlining the general social background, Istvan Horvath pointed out that, besides the quote clauses, there were regulations of higher decree applying to the case, such as the 1974 decree of legal force of the Presidential Council on the state and public order, and the decree of 1974 of the Council of Ministers on the police force, which, in the interested of public order and transport, provide for the rights of the police force and the proceedings. The minister of the interior acknowledged that there was uncertainty in the applicaiton of law in the case of a citizens' demonstration. This was why the overall decrees should be replaced by more exact laws.

As regards the concrete case, the minister of the interior said that the organizers of the demonstration registered their intention with the police, and were told that the site—in the vicinity of the Romanian Embassy and a busy road—and the time—the rush hour—were not appropriate for such a demonstration. Besides, the threat of provocation, possibly with outside inspiration, seemed realistic. Istvan Horvath said that the organizers had not appealed to a higher police body, but had instead turned to Radio Free Europe. All in all, the police had not enroached upon the law. The police were not free to decide in questions like this: the general political line of the Government was also binding on them. Later, the organizers had accused the police of brutally dispersing the demonstration. According to the minister of the interior, this accusation was unjustified. The police had adhered to the regulations, and the political debate in the wake of the measures was a legal question, and not for the police.

Mr Horvath's answer brought the three-day November session of parliament to a close. Mrs R. Jakab, who chaired the session, announced that, in answer to many requests received by the speaker of parliament, the Hungarian national flag had been flying over the parliament building since the opening of the session.

Ministers Comment on Recent Student Unrest

AU3011175288 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Nov 88 p 5

[Interview with Education Minister Tibor Czibere and Deputy Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi, by Gyorgy Andras Lengyel: "Opinions on the Students Demands"—in Kecskemet, on 26 November]

[Text] A national parliamentary session of university students was held at the School of Horticulture and Viticulture in Kecskemet on 26 November as a continuation of the recent student demonstrations. The 223 delegates from more than 70 institutions of higher education decided to create a National Council of Higher Education which will function until a national association of higher education is established.

The Ministry of Culture and Education took it upon itself to coordinate with the other ministries involved in managing and financing higher education in Hungary.

Tibor Czibere has given his first interview since the national demonstrations of students to MAGYAR HIRLAP.

[Lengyel] What is your opinion about the students' demands and the verbal and written allusions to your person?

[Czibere] I worked in a so-called autonomous Western university before working in a Hungarian university. Returning from West Berlin, I accepted a job in a Hungarian university because I thought, with a little idealism, that the structure of our institutions is also autonomous. As for the present situation, I do not understand why people demand independence for certain institutions while they themselves have not worked out the necessary conditions.

[Lengyel] Thus, you as a politician....

[Czibere] I am not a politician. I consider myself a scientific expert.

[Lengyel] As a minister, are you now between the upper and the nether millstones?

[Czibere] Yes. The state budget is one millstone, and the university and college movements are the other millstone.

[Lengyel] What do you think about today's university students?

[Czibere] I am always happy when I meet with thinking, striving, and cultured young people, but it makes me sad when young people with little experience deal with facts arbitrarily, and do not take the given situation into consideration, at least as a starting point.

Deputy Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi, with whom we also spoke in Kecskemet, said the following:

[Bekesi] We allocate 87 billion forints for education and 13 billion forints for higher education annually. This is 5.8 percent and 0.9 percent respectively of our gross national product. I am not alone among the leaders of the ministry who claim that there is need for incomparably more funds for an optimal situation.

[Lengyel] How can we reach this goal?

[Bekesi] First of all, by reducing the support of loss-making sectors of the economy, and by reducing the so-called state expenses, primarily the military budget and the expenditure of state apparatuses.

[Lengyel] You are a former student of the Karl Marx Economic Science University. What is your opinion about today's university students?

[Bekesi] We were ambitious and idealist students. Idealism has since dissipated. However, I consider the cultured way of thinking, readiness for debate, and the passionate attitude of today's students attractive. At the same time, I regard the high level of disharmony between their demands and reality extremely alarming.

Youth Group Asserts Independent Role

LD2011235988 Budapest MTI in English 2124 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) wishes to take part in the work of the National Council of Hungarian Youth (MIOT), a forum to be established in the near future to

coordinate the interests of Hungarian youth organizations, but it accepts only the technical and interest-coordinating role of MIOT. This was one of the decisions passed in the first FIDESZ congress that ended on Sunday.

FIDESZ held its founding congress in two stages. The first round in October approved the organizational and operational rules. In the second round, held on November 19-20, the participants held a debate on the political programme. The draft programme and the fundamental principles of FIDESZ were approved on Sunday, with two votes against and 13 abstentions.

According to the fundamental principles, FIDESZ is a national political federation but not the youth organization of any other grouping. It set the task to help self-organization in society.

The FIDESZ congress assessed Hungary's political situation in a statement. It gave voice to its discontent with what it termed as the failure of the country's leadership to break with the former policy to an appropriate extent.

The congress elected the seven members and three alternate members of the board, the executive organ of FIDESZ. The further six members of the 13-strong board will be elected by the FIDESZ council, representing the 50 groups of the federation.

The congress elected the editor-in-chief of 'FIDESZ-HIREK' (FIDESZ NEWS), and decided to apply for a licence so that the paper should be not only an internal publication but a youth paper distributed in public.

After the founding congress, the board members held an international news conference. They said that FIDESZ would seek to have a say in legislation, for instance by nominating candidates for the parliamentary elections. They stressed that FIDESZ would use exclusively peaceful means in the political arena.

New Youth Federation To Be Established

AU2511160188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Nov 88 p 4

[MTI report: "A New Youth Federation To Be Established Under the Name of Union for Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] A group of delegates at the KISZ conference of higher-education students, at the national KISZ conference, and at the national conference of KISZ secretaries initiated the establishment of a new political youth federation under the name of Union for Democratic Socialism. A declaration of the intention to establish such a federation has been made public. Some 80 people have signed this document so far. All this was reported by the provisional executives of the federation at a press conference held at the KISZ Headquarters on 22 November.

The document stipulates that it has become clear during the debates held in the KISZ organizations of students of higher education in recent months that only the establishment of a new organization can lead to the successful implementation of the intention for renewal. The organizers consider the KISZ to be their political predecessor and accept everything in its heritage that contributes to safeguarding the interests of the young people and to advancing the Hungarian reform. However, the organizers reject KISZ' bureaucratic methods and its system of calling to account, the direct party guidance, and the power of the apparatus.

The document explains that the aim of the union is to promote the establishment of a democratic constitutional state. Among the criteria of such a constitutional state are the following: the real implementation of human rights, and a market economy based on achievements and on a decisive proportion of public property. The organizers urge the development of a socialist society which will enable free development for individuals, create equal chances for its citizens, implement social justice, appreciate the real value of knowledge, conduct a future-oriented social policy based on young people, and strive to implement a higher level of physical, intellectual, and social prosperity.

The new union intends to function by practically implementing the principle of voluntary cooperation and by respecting individual and minority opinions. Thus, it regards its internal pluralism as a value. Therefore, the founders call upon the independent organizing communities which accept its platform to join the new union.

The union offers a strategic alliance with the renewed MSZMP, and, by preserving its autonomy, the union will, with the MSZMP, determine the substance of this alliance from time to time. The union regards it its duty to participate in renewing the MSZMP, especially in developing the party democracy and in implementing faction freedom within the party. As a member organization with a considerable autonomy, the union wants to join the KISZ national successor federation. The union intends to build its contacts with other political organizations and groupings on the basis of a community of values and interests. Lacking such a community, the union accepts the debates and conflicts.

The union is open to all young people who accept the political and ideological values formulated in its platform. As the basis, the union tries to win the support primarily of university and college students, young teachers and workers, secondary-school students, as well as the various groups of intellectuals. In conclusion, the document calls upon the interested young people to establish local organizations, work out programs, and to initiate concrete political actions.

The provisional executives of the union said that the establishment of this union is the first achievement of the activity of the reform forces within the university KISZ organizations.

Border Region Cooperation Meeting With CPSU

AU2411155988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by Andrzej Miklaszewicz: "PZPR-CPSU Party Cooperation: Meeting in Bialystok"]

[Excerpts] Stanislaw Gabrielski, PZPR Central Committee member and chief of the PZPR Central Committee Organization Department, described the expectations linked to the meeting in Bialystok. Among the things he stressed was the need to exchange views on ways of striking a balance between individual and group interests and the general public interest.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the PZPR and CPSU Central Committees and party Central Committee secretaries from Belorussia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, as well as oblast committee secretaries from Brzesc, Grodno, Gomel, Kaliningrad, Minsk, Mogilev, and Vitebsk. The Polish side was represented by the leaders of voivodship-level PZPR organizations in Bialystok, Biala Podlaska, Jelenia Gora, Lublin, Olsztyn, Plock, Suwalki, Szczecin, Wloclawek, and Zielona Gora. Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov was also present.

The Bialystok meeting was the first of four seminars that are to take place during 1988-89. The seminars will be attended by the party secretaries of PZPR and CPSU organizations that are engaged in mutual cooperation. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the end of the first day of the session, Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said that the party leadership is interested in seeing the forms of cooperation under discussion yield results as quickly as possible, and not only at the regional level, but also within the framework of Polish-Soviet relations as a whole. Both sides want border area cooperation to be expanded to cover all the republics adjacent to Poland. The processes taking place in our country are part of one current, that of restructuring socialism. This is why the success of restructuring in the USSR is also a success for us, and it pleases our Soviet friends when we score successes in implementing socialist renewal.

The Central Committee secretary discussed the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland and answered questions about national accord and the creation of conditions that would permit "roundtable" talks to take place. He cited the drawing up of a new law on associations and an amended law on peoples councils as elements leading to a further democratization of life. The market-oriented steps that have been taken by the new government are being checked by the continued existence of restrictions on Polish foreign trade. The Central Committee secretary also referred to the debate that is taking place on the subject of the Plan for the Consolidation of the National Economy, which is to contain new proposals for expansion within the framework of the reform of our economy. [passage omitted]

Aftermath of Miodowicz-Walesa TV Debate

Participants' Remarks on Talk Cited

LD0112113088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] After the debate, Alfred Miodowicz told Polish Television that the meeting had been necessary: I performed my task. I am glad and pleased that Mr Walesa accepted this invitation.

Mr Walesa, on the one hand said: I am pleased that the meeting took place, but I am not pleased with myself. Mr Miodowicz had more luck. I have flu, and the train was 2 hours late. I am not pleased. I was too impulsive. Mr Miodowicz must be approached a little bit more calmly. It would have been nicer.

Walesa Holds Press Conference

LD0112185588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] A press conference was held by Lech Walesa today at the presbytery of St Brygida's Church in Gdansk, with Polish and foreign journalists participating. Lech Walesa gave his assessment of yesterday's discussion with Alfred Miodowicz which was broadcast by Polish Television.

Debate: 'Good Sign for Roundtable'

LD0212094788 Warsaw PAP in English 0202 GMT 2 Dec 88

["Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw Dec 2—[Passage omitted] Commenting on the Miodowicz-Walesa television debate held last Wednesday, the ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily wrote that "the debate showed that even the most difficult problems of the country can be discussed peacefully, tactfully and to the point, despite totally different views. The Walesa-Miodowicz debate is also quite a good sign for the round-table meetings whose fate aroused ever greater concern as time passed by."

"Both participants in the meeting stressed hopes linked with it, although they did not conceal noticeable difficulties. The fact that the favourable course of the discussion will without doubt contribute to the improvement of social feelings, what is manifested by first surveys and reactions of television viewers, should be also placed among the assets," the ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote.

Closure of Gdansk Shipyard Viewed

LD2211113688 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] This naval vessel being built here in the Vladimir Ilich Lenin shipyard in Gdansk will probably be the last. It will be launched from this shipyard in 2 years' time. This is because of the government's decision to liquidate the shipyard, which has not been profitable for a number of years. The shipyard will formally cease to exist on 1 December this year when the notice "This shipyard is in liquidation" will appear on its gate.

They told us in the management headquarters that we were the first foreign television crew to be allowed to film within the enterprise, which in practice no longer exists. From the very beginning we felt nervousness and insecurity in people's behavior.

[Unidentified speaker in Polish fading to Czech] I have been working in the shipyard for the past 27 years and will continue to work here as long as the enterprise exists.

[Reporter] The shipyard currently employs 11,000 people. True, production will gradually cease from 1 December but work on unfinished ships will continue. On the very first day of the announcement that the shipyard was to be liquidated, a center offering other job opportunities was opened in the shipyard. Some employees will be engaged by enterprises that are to come into existence within the shipyard compound. A section will be transferred to the northern shipyard and another section to the repair shipyard in Gdansk.

[Second unidentified speaker in Polish fading to Czech translation] I have already found employment but despite this I am waiting for the final decision. I shall leave because I do not see good conditions for work here.

[Reporter] The liquidation of the shipyard was preceded by a detailed evaluation of its economic viability. It emerges that the main factors which caused the bankruptsy were decline in activity, failure to fulfill contracts, and lack of foreign exchange. This merely prolonged the time it took for vessels to be built and the production of the shipyard declined. To this we have to add the worldwide crisis of the shipbuilding industry and the increasingly difficult sale of vessels, naturally, at lower prices. The shipyard was thus maintained by continuing state subsidies. During the past 2 years these have exceeded the shipyard's profit twofold.

The decision to close the shipyard has provoked a great deal of disenchantment in Gdansk itself. Lech Walesa and his supporters regard the decision as a step against the cradle of the former so-called Solidarity. But the further one goes from the shipyard the view prevails that once the government declared an end to inefficient and unprofitable enterprises it behaved with decisiveness—and correctly in the case of the Gdansk shipyard.

22 Nov Politburo Session Activities Reported

AU2811165288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 88 pp 1,2

[PAP: "Communique on the PZPR Central Committee Session"]

[Text] At its 22 November session the Politburo examined problems of workers self-management groups' performance and stressed that most workers councils, which are genuine joint masters of enterprises, had scored considerable achievements.

Changes in economic management will decisively increase the genuine independence and fiscal autonomy of enterprises. The work forces' right to determine the future of enterprises is closely linked to their responsibility for socioeconomic changes and for economic results. Responsibility must not be limited to the duration of the terms of the councils. Decisions that are calculated to produce temporary benefits and that ignore the future and the development of enterprises may prove to be negative for work forces and may even endanger the existence of enterprises.

The Politburo is convinced that workers self-management bodies will support whatever helps to improve the effectiveness of economic management and that the stabilization of economic and fiscal conditions will facilitate the participation of workers councils in enterprise management. These councils will be more effective in improving the use of working time, in modernizing production, and in developing the technological base. This is one of the main conditions for mutual trust and good cooperation between the bodies of economic administration and workers self-management. These bodies are natural allies in effective activities and they regard efforts to reconcile the interests of work forces and the people as their primary duty.

Party members have been obliged to actively share in the work of self-management bodies and to support their efforts to eliminate ineffective action programs in favor of production and organization initiatives. Resilient self-management bodies, which are fountains of novel ideas, are good testimony to the maturity of work forces and to the skillful performance and authority of the party organization. On the other hand, shortcomings of self-management activities add to the hardships of party organizations in enterprises.

Many volunteers who are active in self-management bodies are a large force in favor of reforms, and their work reinforces the speed of beneficial changes in the economy. The good examples of these volunteers should be extensively exploited by those workers councils whose participation in enterprise management is just formal and passive. Good examples of self-management activities and the experience of efficient enterprises should be propagated more extensively. We should support closer links between workers councils and partnership groups,

links that increase workers' powers in management. We should also eliminate the barriers that hinder the development of the group forms of work organization, especially the barriers resulting from the taxation system.

The Sejm Committee for Self-Management Issues was right in proposing that the workers council should evaluate the performance of enterprises in the first 6 months of 1988. Such evaluations should be made more often, but they should be more rigorous and penetrating so that enterprises know how to improve in their performance and how to achieve better results.

The Politburo supports the government's plans for cooperation with self-management bodies. A self-management consultative body will be attached to the Council of Ministers Economic Committee, the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, and the Council of Ministers Bureau for Cooperation with Self-Management Bodies. The Politburo welcomed the government's plan to modify the bill of the Polish Railroads and on research and development units.

It is necessary for workers councils at various levels to enrich their cooperation and exchanges of general experience. The Politburo approved of the system of sessions organized by the Sejm Commission for Self-Management Issues and agreed that it is necessary to search for new forms of cooperation, to support the activities of the voivodship self-management councils, clubs, and so on, and to promote cooperation between the people's councils and territorial self-management bodies, on the one hand, and workers councils, on the other.

The Politburo takes the view that all work forces, including those of the economic units that operate in the non-public sector, have the right to set up self-management bodies.

New forms of public ownership of production assets will be devised. When the state assets are hired and leased out to agents and when companies and other forms of ownership, in which the state treasury is interested, are created, it is necessary to ensure that work forces are able to organize self-management bodies. The realization of these plans will require modifications to the law of self-management bodies in state enterprises or the adoption of new laws on the functioning of self-management bodies in economic units organized under various forms of ownership.

The Politburo discussed preparations for the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference, the holding of which was decided by the sixth Central Committee plenum a year ago. The conference will be an important stride in the preparations for the National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

Some ideas about the shape of socialism and about the lines, stages, and forms of its development continue to change their value in the course of profound economic and political transformations. Many justified questions and doubts continue to arise in this connection, in the party and outside it. Answering them as fully as possible calls for a profoundly scientific interpretation of the nature of transformations, an interpretation that is based on the fundamental values of socialism, on the historical laws of its development, and on new and long-term tasks.

The conference should become a crucial step forward in creating theoretical foundations of promoting socialism under Polish national conditions and should help strengthen and enrich the party's ideological identity.

The Politburo noted that preparations for the conference have been extensive and have already helped to accumulate considerable ideological-intellectual achievements.

Many seminars have been held on the subject of the basic issues of socialist renewal and many interesting works have been produced about the nature and consequences of changes in the political system of the economy and the party. Preparations for the conference have been supported by many party echelons, communities, organizations, and scientific institutions. This makes it possible to listen to and take into consideration the views of the allied parties, trade unions, social and youth organizations, and scientific and creative associations. Individual evaluations of the condition of the theory and practice of socialist renewal have been presented by outstanding intellectuals, party members, nonparty people, and a group of experienced political activists.

The Politburo recommended that preparations for the conference be continued in line with the adopted timetable and stressed that these preparations had coincided with the party discussions and activities preceding the 10th Central Committee plenum.

The Politburo approved the date, program, and agenda of the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference, which will be held in Warsaw on 19-21 January 1989. The conference's subjects will include inter alia the PZPR's historical experience, theoretical premises of the policy of renewal, changes in social structures under the impact of reforms, changes in the socialist condition of production, the development of the Polish model of socialist democracy, the problems of social awareness, Poland's role in present-day Europe and the world, and the party's role and tasks in the process of reforming the state and the economy. The agenda provides for speeches by foreign guests.

The Politburo stressed the great importance of the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference for the ideological stimulation of party members and for intensifying discussions about the key issues of socialist Poland's development.

Prospects for Party's Renewal Viewed

AU2411182488 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish
16 Nov 88 pp 1, 5

[Tomasz Milkowski article: "Dispute About the Future"]

[Text] "Poland, socialism, and the party urgently need an honest evaluation of what constitutes our joint achievements, but what we need above all is creative and effective militancy, one that can change the present and blaze a trail to a better future."

That was what Professor Marian Orzechowski told representatives of the party intelligentsia during a meeting to exchange views on the role of political thought in party activities. We can regard that meeting as a typical prologue to the Third All-Poland PZPR Theoretical-Ideological Conference.

1. People have considerable and, as M. Orzechowski said, even exaggerated expectations of that conference. For example, party aktivs expect that the conference will supply an interpretation of changes in the system of ownership and management; will clarify the party's leading role; will define the place of opposition in the socialist system, in view of the coming institutionalized pluralism of political life; and, most importantly, will determine the party's ability to produce new ideas and concepts and to appraise the party's condition and its readiness for internal changes.

The ability to address these and other issues, which are of crucial importance for Poland's future, is a condition for launching the party's intellectual offensive and for overcoming "its frustration, marking time, and even its partial regression. There can be no leading role by the party without its intellectual leadership, in which the courage and radicalism of reforming ideas go hand in hand with the defense of socialism's basic values." (M. Orzechowski)

2. One of the factors responsible for the fact that as a political pilot of renewal the party has lost (at least in the eyes of society) its internal and external impetus, was the course of the crisis at the junction of the seventies and the eighties. The party was forced to assume the role of the "brakeman" trying to stem the surging wave of claims and counterclaims, a wave that threatened to disintegrate the structure of the state and to extinguish the minimum mobility of society. It is true that the party was able to keep abreast of the challenge of the time by ambitiously responding to it through the ninth party congress resolution. However, the rhythm of the political struggle in those days made a greater social response to that resolution impossible. In the face of increasing threats, martial law was resorted to, which was bound to freeze (albeit temporarily) the party's intellectual militancy.

The transition from martial law to struggle, accord, economic reforms, and democratization has proved to be a thorny road. The feeble successes of economic reform and of efforts to sort out the economy were responsible for the fact that the party did not win adequately clear support for its policy.

3. The progressive process of eliminating remnants of Stalinism from the party and state practice is a crucial element of the process of changes. This is an apparent paradox, and the party, which draws for its intellectual inspiration on the Marxist method of criticizing reality in all its contradictions and changeability, is rendered to some extent defenseless when the truths of the old days are questioned.

This is not a result of poverty of spirit. Rather, it is a result of orthodox practices which, "faithful" to the model of doctrinal infallibility, continue to restrain bolder attempts to fathom the party's own principles. No wonder that after years of perceiving and uprooting signs of schism in almost every independent interpretation that exceeded the framework of the "writ," it is now so difficult to stimulate long-term thinking, thinking that is free from the revealed truths, although in principle (save for some incidents) the party has stopped to strangle criticism and to hinder theoretical searches.

That applies not only to party members, but also to nonparty people who have been greatly infected by the rhetoric of Stalinism and its more or less cryptic continuation. That is certainly the reason for those anxious moods of the "silent majority," which is afraid of changes and continues to ask: "What kind of socialism?" or "Is that still socialism?"

Questions continue to be raised in the party and outside it about the limits of "concessions," about the "hard threshold" that ensures the party its identity, and about separating pragmatic political measures (in the economy or social policy) from the "nucleus" that constitutes the identity of the party as a distinct political force representing a clearly defined interest.

4. In this new situation, party organizations have still not managed to get their second wind. They continue to respond to the challenges of practice with greater or lesser speed, are not as enterprising in changing practices as they should be, and are unable to find an adequate model of action.

Taking advantage of the present balance of strength and of the relative political "vacuum," some people would like to reduce the role of the party to chaperoning the system. That is the crux of the concept of the new economic and cultural laissez-faire, under which the party is supposed to act as the geopolitical guarantor of the continuation of the system, one who is responsible for internal and external security and foreign policy. Some other people are inclined to make the party into a super-bureau dealing with complaints, a bureau that

would have to uproot glaring violations of the basic principles of the system and would interfere with various departures from social justice. That thesis continued to be developed in party documents in the past few years, when it was stressed that the party should tackle so-called human matters. Whereas the first case is an open attempt to politically isolate the party, the second case amounts to the truncation of the party and to substitute party activities, which, although useful, especially locally, cannot be regarded as a substitute for the party's true calling.

5. The party's true calling is the ability to create programs, to promote effective organization, and to exert the necessary control in keeping with the interests of the basic social classes. If today we are looking for ways and means to revive the party's political thought, we must pay primary attention to the task of strengthening the party's ability to create programs.

We should not be misled by the conviction that, although we have had (and still have) many programs, they have not been implemented only because we lacked consistency. This is shallow reasoning. If we lacked consistency, the reason was not only that the so-called subjective factors failed us (they always fail), but that those programs were probably unable to rally adequate political resolve, that is, they lacked motivation and clarity. This was certainly the case with the program for the second stage of the reform, a program which only initiated economists were able to understand.

Strengthening the party's ability to construct programs means that party activities must be modified. Discussions are now continuing about separating the bodies of executive power from the bodies of political powers, especially party bodies. The separation of the competencies of those bodies must be followed by shifting the party efforts to the task of constructing national and local development programs. This will stimulate political life within the party. The nucleus of such ability to create programs is to express the political resolve to create socialism that is open to development changes and to man's needs and that possess clear features of people's rule.

6. The need for an in-depth analysis of reality needs no discussion, although many partial phenomena in the individual areas of social, economic, and cultural reality could be discussed. As Professor Jerzy Ladyka said during the meeting, we still lack an honest picture of socialist thought and an in-depth evaluation of Stalinist deformations. The evaluation of the past can serve as a point of departure for the construction of development concepts. The issue is not to construct sentimental utopias, but to express the resolve to continue to promote the axiological values of socialism and to determine the ways in which these values can be practiced. After all, the slogan of "social justice" is not a socialist invention, and, divorced from class contexts and from the concepts of how to achieve this justice in social practice by revolutionary changes, has little in common with the traditions of the revolutionary workers movement.

Efforts to build visions of the future by means of disputes among the Marxists and by means of polemics with other orientations, must not be identified with efforts to create new orthodox canons. M. Orzechowski hit the nail on the head when he said in this connection: "Past experience enjoins us to reject illusory ideas that it is possible to scientifically construct an ideal model of social development that can be uncritically followed in practice. Such temptations have always ended in a social drama."

As we can see, today's doubts about Marxism's intellectual abilities is partly a heritage of the post-Stalinist habit of believing in the "closed theory." That is why in trying to preserve its leading role, which amounts to preserving the lines of socialist political transformations, the party must try to avoid a dual danger: On the one hand, the aforementioned temptations to follow "omnipotent and unshakable ideology" and on the other, the refusal to construct ideological programs, because of the failure of such programs in the past.

7. The need to emphasize the party's ability to create programs within party activities without neglecting its organizing and controlling abilities is dictated by the increasing need to overcome the awareness of crisis and to rehabilitate people's confidence. The considerable drop in one's confidence that the socialist system is able to develop is today the most important barrier against winning society's extensive support. This is especially true of the younger generation, which shows mistrust in socialism by emigrating to earn money, by displaying great reserve vis-a-vis all political programs, and so on.

The fact that extensive segments of our people no longer believe in the development values of socialism is a result of not only past errors and crises, but also of the ruthless struggle waged by our adversary, who is increasingly bolder in announcing the death of socialism and who finds it easier to condemn the idea of socialism by identifying it with its Stalinist version. All this now goes hand in hand with openly couched demands for a return to the principles of the capitalist system, as was done, for example, by Professor Stefan Kurowski, who regards capitalism as an ideal system (his interview was published by PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, Issue 45).

It would certainly be illusory to expect that the party's mere publication of the most attractive program would at once increase the support for party policy and would violently boost socialist attitudes. It is obvious that such support will always be determined by deeds, practice, and, especially, clear changes in economic management, and not by mere words.

It would also be a mistake to expect that beneficial economic changes would by themselves help to boost militant, socially positive, and civic attitudes, especially in view of our complicated situation and of the amassed difficulties, the elimination of which depends to the same extent on the correctness of our economic and social activities as on the scale of society's commitment to the process of change.

However, the awareness of crisis, which is a result of our socioeconomic crisis, is now becoming an independent factor, one which continues to hinder change. This can be seen, among other things, in a drop in educational and cultural aspirations, in the willingness to adopt attitudes of recalcitrance and demandingness, and in the aversion to cooperate and participate. This clearly means that the processes of renewal must apply not only to our economic and political life, but to our spiritual life as well. In any case, our party does not want to behave like Master Fior in Gombrowicz's "The Operetta:" "However, the master is uncertain and anxious. He does not know what fashions he is to establish and what silhouette to promote when the times are so uncertain, decadent, and ominous, and when no one knows whither history is forging....

Official on Tasks of Jan Ideological Conference

LD2311104188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] We return to today's Politburo meeting. It was attended by our guest, Andrzej Czyz, head of the Central Committee's ideological department. To be precise, you took part in that part of the meeting which discussed preparations for the theoretical and ideological conference. When is it to be and what will be its aims?

[Czyz] The conference will be held 19-21 January next year. There will be 3 days of plenary sessions and 6 days of subject groups. Primarily, the conference should expand the theoretical premises of the transformations being carried out in the state and the economy, in order to avoid their becoming fragmentary or ad hoc in nature. The conference should also confront the state of theoretical research with the country's development needs, in order to formulate the most correct research demands of the centers of those sciences. Finally, we think the conference will carry out a more profound analysis of various ideological problems of our life; it will answer at least some of the questions which are bothering the party, its members, and its aktiv at present.

[Announcer] What is your assessment of what is happening in the country at present? The forms of ownership are changing; there is talk of the need for initiative, and earning extra money is ceasing to be a reprehensible phenomenon. How to you view this phenomenon, which has been basically unknown for more than 40 years?

[Czyz] People simply want to live better, to satisfy their needs, to aim for material sufficiency and better social relations. This is possible only in conditions of extreme efficiency. Justice without efficiency is simply the just division of an insufficiency and maybe even plain poverty. So, the conference will address the question: How does one obtain the optimum link between social justice and management efficiency? And how, from this viewpoint, should relations of ownership be changed? Another issue which the conference will tackle will be changes in Poland's political system—changes which would lead to a broadening of the field for civic initiative and activeness, as well as economic drive, but which would at the same time create the machinery for a better expression, articulation—as it is called—and coordination of the differentiated interests, strivings, and opinions of society—very profoundly differentiated sometimes, but able to be coordinated at the highest level of social goals for the country's development, in the broadest sense of the word. Finally, there will be party issues: its model of a leader or model of functioning in political and economic life, but also changes in its internal structure and internal life.

[Announcer] Young political scientists are somewhat critical of the party, in TRYBUNA LUDU at that. They say right out that the party today is the apparatus, the aktiv, and the rest. Do you agree with that?

[Czyz] I think we are facing the need for a more fundamental analysis of the now frequently ineffective and threadbare structures of the party's internal life. I would point out three issues taken up anyway in this report by young political scientists: the question of the party's very weak presence in the places where people live; localities, together with the progress of the economic reforms, are taking on significance. An enormous section of political life, of civic activeness, is moving there. There is, for instance, also the question of the maintenance of the hierarchical structure of the party, understood in such a way that it is the carrier of the lasting nature of the system of party administration, which could be called managing from the top by directive and report [odgorne sterowanie dyrektywno-sprawozdawczego]. In our democratic centralism there is still more capitalism than democracy. That means that the capacity for initiative and activeness is, so to speak, narrowing in party organizations, and therefore where the party's strength is decided. And finally, the meeting-type style of party work. It often reduces a party organization's activeness to a monthly or even less frequent meeting and it limits the development of other forms of activeness of a party member in every place where life is going on—a local area, in a production plant, and in every milieu.

[Announcer] One can say that one can manifest that activeness without necessarily waiting for a conference which will take place in 2 months' time.

[Czyz] Such searching is in fact taking place. In 2 days' time, in Slupsk, there will be a meeting of the leading

members of the Central Committee and the first secretaries of Voivodship Committees, to acquaint themselves with the experiences and thoughts of the Slupsk party organization. But I think all this searching is pointing toward reforms in the structures of internal life that would promote the appearance and the possibilities for effective action by individuals with initiative, individuals who are above average, and those who are not submissive, to help them implement their goals, in accordance with the public interest, in accordance with the (?interests of the milieu).

[Announcer] Thank you for talking to us.

Aims of New Student Associations Viewed

AU2411160088 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 13 Nov 88 p 6

[Jan Skorzynski article: "A Beginning"]

[Text] If we were to measure the intensity of Polish public life by the variety of ideological orientations and the number of organizations represented on the official platform, then this intensity would turn out to be extremely modest. The situation is no different in student communities, which not so long ago were condemned to being represented by the monopolist Union of Polish Students, and which were deprived of their own associations that are not managed from above. That is why the registration of two new independent academic associations in Gdansk and Poznan should be viewed as merely a beginning of genuine pluralism of student life. That is also the view of the founders of the Poznan "Young Poland" and of the Gdansk "Verbum," who during their Warsaw press conference did not forget to state that the Independent Association of Students and other student organizations are still waiting to be registered.

Both associations, which were represented by their founders at the conference hosted by Jesuit Fathers, profess Catholic values and are inspired by them in their social and political activities. Clear traces of that inspiration can be found in the ideological declaration of the "Universitas" Academic Association, of which "Young Poland" is a continuation. "The Catholic faith and the Christian system of values are the sources of our views and attitudes," the Poznan students state in the declaration. They regard the family and the nation as the basic communities in which man plays his social role. The state should protect and guarantee the rights of the family and the sovereignty of the nation. "The Catholic Church's social teachings are for us the basis on which to evaluate Polish reality," the founders of "Young Poland" state. "Those teachings' personalized vision of man, who is conscious of his rights and duties, determines our responsibilities for the communities in which we fulfill our mission. Sensible concern for the common good and the principle that one should help others are the foundation of our presence in the life of society."

The traditions of the political thinking favored by the Poznan students indicate that their young movement is obviously rightist in orientation. Arkadiusz Siwko, chairman of "Young Poland" listed three old ideological lines that his association wants to follow: The Christian-Democratic movement, the national camp movement, and Polish conservatism. The new student associations have declared that they want to invest student life with ideological and political reflections which are based on those traditions. These reflections are also a result of the more recent experience of the Young Poland Movement, which existed in the seventies as an opposition faction, and of the experience of the group connected with POLITYKA POLSKA, a publication which the authorities regard as illegal and which still continues to affirm the ideological precepts of those days and the traditions of the National Democracy. "Although we are Catholics and although this fact determines our convictions to a great extent, we take responsibility for our activities and refuse to commit the Catholic Church's authority to our public actions," Arkadiusz Siwko said. This means that "Young Poland" and "Verbum" are associations which are connected with the church, but which are autonomous in their activities and independent of the church hierarchy, although they follow Catholic social teachings.

The Gdansk and Poznan academics make no secret of their political aspirations and reach out far beyond their universities and the narrowly conceived student interests. "We are not only students," Siwko said. "We are also citizens of Poland and want to influence the development of our state." The two associations' aim is to propagate a vision of the state of citizens, one whose task is to protect the regenerating fiber of the life of society and not to administer and run the activities of people. They are also in favor of a vision of the society of citizens, a society that wants to commit itself to public life, is able to do so, and is ready to assume shared responsibility for the country's fate. The struggle for the laws that respect society's will and needs and that stems from the natural human rights is another goal of the intended activities to be assumed by "Young Poland" and "Verbum." In this context, the students stressed in particular the need to change the legislation that allows unborn babies to be killed.

"We are not solely interested in a place for our organizations," Siwko declared. The standing aim of "Young Poland" and "Verbum" is to struggle for pluralism in public life so that there is also room in this life for other social communities and groups. That is why the Independent Association of Students has the right to exist and engage in activities in universities and university-type schools. Such schools should be a meeting place for various ideological and political orientations, which should be tested by public opinion and not by the administration. The Poznan students have outlined the desirable nature of Polish community life in the same way. The strikes last August and the political openness produced by them have aroused the hope that the

authorities' often declared willingness to engage in dialogue would at least become reality and would replace the present monologue. The new Polish public platform must offer enough room for independent and oppositional factions, and the trade union movement must accommodate the Solidarity Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union.

"We are in ideological opposition to the Marxist camp of power," the chairman of "Young Poland" said. However, the academics want to follow the criteria of national interest in the area of political evaluations and to appraise the authorities' individual measures in line with these criteria.

The future will show whether all those considerable political plans and ambitions of the young people from Gdansk and Poznan will be fulfilled, but even now their perseverance and doggedness in endeavoring to have their associations legalized are already significant. The registration of the "Verbum" and "Young Poland" academic associations has brought to surface a formation of a young right wing, one which was previously absent from the scene. The fact that the founders of those two associations place such strong emphasis on their rightist ideological affiliations, aside from the Catholic Church, will certainly meet a different reception among various factions, including oppositional factions. This is because it is a moot point whether the classic division of political forces into the right wing, the center, and the left wing is meaningful in the present-day Poland and whether it does not obliterate the basic line of division between those in power and independent public opinion. However, if we ignore the dispute about terminology, it is impossible to deny that there is a clear difference between values such as the nation, the family, and tradition on the one hand, and the stressing of the importance of equality and social justice on the other. The progressive internal differentiation of the Polish opposition is a natural process and, I think, most desirable in the long run. However, it is of crucial importance that we do not lose sight of the basic community of aims—the revival of a society of citizens—when searching for our own identity, and that we do not place that which divides us above that which links individual independent communities.

The basic conditions for preserving such links are cultured political polemics and the necessary measure of mutual honesty—one which makes it imperative to respect other people's arguments and to refrain from claiming ideological monopoly. It should be strongly stressed that the statements made by the founders of the two new student associations were free from any monopolist accents. It is also encouraging that they do not usurp for themselves the right to an exclusive representation of the Catholic student communities. The ideological attitude they represent does not have to be accepted by anyone who is just as Christian in outlook as they are. It would be a good thing for those Poznan and Gdansk academics to find a serious partner for discussion soon, because only through serious discussions and through genuine activities is it possible to clarify the present meaning of the raison d'etat, the national interest, or the citizens' state. One's own options and projects can be better seen against the background of differing views, although it is political reality that is the ultimate test of such options and projects.

Deputy Prosecutor Speaks Out on Penal Reform

AU2211153288 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Hipolit Starszak, deputy prosecutor general of PPR, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY's Tadeusz Kucharski: "Do Not Tamper With the Principles"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kucharski] The Penal Code Reform Commission has presented a document entitled "Provisions of the Reform to Penal Legislation," which, following public discussion, is to form the basis for concrete amendments to the penal code, code of criminal conduct, and code of justice. What is the attitude of the Office of the Prosecutor General toward this document?

[Starszak] Generally, we approve of it. It deserves praise because it suggests legal solutions designed to improve penal policy and reduce its social and economic costs; takes into account the need to safeguard the rights and interests of the persons involved in criminal proceedings; and guarantees a proper protection of the economy, state economic interests, and civic rights. [passage omitted]

[Kucharski] The "provisions" foresee that the Council of Ministers will reduce the number of places in prison, and that if there are not enough places to accommodate every convict, convicts will have to wait for a vacancy, whereby how long they have to wait will depend on the seriousness of the crime. In the case of people who are unable to find a place in prison after several months, the "provisions" call for a suspension of the sentence, or an alternative sentence. What do you think of that?

[Starszak] I think this is unacceptable. It would restrict penal policy by making it dependent on the execution of justice. The prime consideration of penal policy should be the security of the state and citizens and the protection of public order. As far as short sentences are concerned, this proposal would violate the principle that every sentence must be carried out as quickly as possible. In the end, it would cancel out the principle of accelerated criminal proceedings because it would affect not only the judicial stage, but also the execution of the sentence stage. However, what I have said does not mean that the capacity of prisons should not be considered in penal policy.

[Kucharski] Today, the most frequent sentence is imprisonment between 6 months and 5 years. The "provisions" foresee a reverse situation—a sentence of up to 5 years

would be an exceptional sentence, a last resort. The "provisions" say that this sentence will only be applied when other sentences are insufficient. Does the Prosecutor's Office accept this?

[Starszak] We do not question this general principle. It may be a topic of further discussion during the commission's work, especially when the commission reviews the punishments applicable to individual crimes.

[Kucharski] Concerning the death sentence, the "provisions" envisage three alternative solutions—a complete abolition of the death sentence in peacetime, a 5-year moratorium on carrying out a death sentence to see whether a waiver of the death sentence would affect the level of serious crime, and a serious limitation on applying the death sentence. Which of these solutions does the Prosecutor's Office prefer?

[Starszak] The Prosecutor's Office is in favor of retaining the death sentence. However, it should only be applied to particularly abhorrent cases of homicide and to state treason. [passage omitted]

Defense Industry Contributes to Polish Market

AU2411144388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 88 p 1

[Report by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "The Defense Ministry for the Market and Economy"]

[Text] What has the defense industry given to our country? What part does it play in the Polish economy? These and other questions are answered by the exhibition entitled "The Defense Industry for the Market and Economy," which is being put on in Warsaw from 21 to 25 November at the headquarters of the former Ministry of Mining and Energy.

On Monday, opening day, the exhibition was visited by General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense; Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee; and Mieczyslaw Wilczek, minister of industry.

On Monday there was also a press conference by General of Brigade Leslaw Wojtasik, the Ministry of National Defense press spokesman. During this press conference, General of Division Jerzy Modrzewski, undersecretary of state for industry, briefed journalists on the basic tasks of the defense industry. The core of the defense industry is made up of several dozen plants from various branches of industry. These ptants manufacture goods for the needs of the defense industry, and bear the status of "defense industry enterprise." Although the main purpose of these enterprises is to manufacture equipment and materials essential for defense and the protection of state security,each of them also manufactures commodities for civilian needs, though to a varying extent.

There are no plants that work solely for the Armed Forces, said J. Modrzewski. The defense industry is an old Polish tradition dating back to the period between the wars. This tradition was referred back to during the building of a new defense industry after 1945. Distinguished prewar experts in this field such as Professors Tymowski, Wilniewczyk, Pelczynski, and others were consulted during this process. Industrial output destined for non-military purposes has grown since 1950. This year, for example, 60 percent of the output of defense industry enterprises has gone to the domestic market and national economy, and only 40 percent to the Army.

Because of world detente, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense has reduced its orders for military goods, thanks to which a greater part of the production capacity of defense industry enterprises will be turned over to manufacturing goods for which there are long lines in shops. Of course this will necessitate certain preparations, including the acquisition of essential raw materials. Even so, in 1989 the defense industry wants to provide the domestic market with Z48 billion worth of goods more than this year, with a similar increase in 1990.

These goods are intended to be modern and of high quality. It is foreseen that the market will receive 70 new varieties of goods that it has never before received from domestic industry.

General Modrzewski said that contrary to public opinion, the defense industry is not subsidized by the state. It is self-financing. It is largely based on Polish scientific thought, and only to a minor extent on foreign licenses. It is a very good industry, excellently disciplined and organized, with qualified engineers and scientists and good, conscientious workers. Even though it has to overcome the same difficulties as other industries, its production figures are better.

Two thirds of the manufactured military materiel is exported, and only one third satisfies the needs of our Armed Forces and paramilitary organizations. Polish goods enjoy a favorable opinion among foreign customers. With the convertible currency thus earned, various goods and materials essential for equipping the Polish Army are purchased, and a considerable sum of money also goes to the state treasury.

Over a dozen military refurbishing enterprises under the control of the Ministry of National Defense function in a similar way, albeit to a considerably smaller extent. They mainly export services.

In the aforementioned exhibition, 55 enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Industry and 7 belonging to the Ministry of National Defense are taking part. The most interesting exhibits in the audiovisual equipment category seem to be a 26-inch "Neptun 705" color TV receiver and a new type of VCR. However, the richest

variety of goods comes from the "Mesko" metal products plant in Skarzysko Kamienne. Housewives would certainly like to have the various kinds of baking tins, juice containers, and grating appliances manufactured by this plant (including one for nuts) and even a device for cooking eggs. The small "Resowia" plant, belonging to the Mielec aviation plant, exhibited beautiful metal dinner services and cutlery. The Industrial Optics Center in Warsaw offered, among other things, a set of laser equipment, including a "laser for bio-stimulation." Other stands showed bathtubs, sinks, a new kind of steam iron, electric tools, new kinds of cranes on caterpillar tracks.... May all these goods reach the Polish consumer as quickly as possible.

Grand National Assembly Outlines 1989 Plan

Dascalescu Addresses Assembly

AU0112201988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 1 Dec 88

["Proceedings of the GNA Session: Memorandum of the Bills on Romania's Socioeconomic Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/12/1988—Reading before the Grand National Assembly Session a memorandum of the bills on the plan for the country's Economic and Social Development in 1989, the plan for Agriculture and the State Budget, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu showed the respective documents to have taken account of the high-rate growth of the forces of production, a more marked intensive growth, the assertion of the new revolution in science and technology and of the new agrarian revolution, the continuous rise in the national income, in the whole Romanian people's welfare, materially and spiritually.

The provisions under the draft plans and the draft state budget offer the prerequistites for a higher development of all areas of activity, the speaker said, showing their salient feature to be the marked position of industry as the basic branch of the national economy and the improvement of its structure. All in all, the industrial marketable production is to increase 6-7 percent, higher rates being envisaged in the sub-branches that promote technical progress and provide for a superior capitalization of material resources and of manpower. Significant tasks are set as concerns the further expansion of raw materials, mineral and energy resources and the identification of new resources to enter the economic flow. Substantial growths are envisaged in the extractive industry in point of physical production—of lignite, coking pit coal and non-ferrous matalores in particular.

With a view to meeting energy requirements, provisions are made for the commissioning of new units, the use of home resources at the highest levels of efficiency, the substantial growth of the contribution of coal, the capitalization of the energy-giving potential to a larger extent and the application of the programme for the employment of non-conventional energy sources on a broad scale. In the metallurgical, chemical and petro-chemical industries the stress will fall on the superior capitalization of raw materials and the broad diversification of structures by types of products, significant rises being registered in the case of high finished products. Production sizing in the machine-building industry takes account of the need to implement priority programmes in the economy and substantially augment exports and their efficiency, more particularly, by improving quality and by assimilating new products that boast a great technical and operational standard. Sustained dynamics will be further registered in the light and wood-working industries, emphasis being placed on the manufacture of high-quality products, in line with the demands of home and foreign end-users.

The draft plan for next year lays special stress on the growing contribution of scientific research and technological development to the resolution of problems related to the modernization of production and of manufacturing technologies, the diminution of material and energy consumption, the application and expansion of new mechanization and automation systems.

As for investment in the further growth of the economy, the draft plans provide for the 4-5 percent growth of their volume as to 1988 through a high rate of accumulation allotted from the national income.

Owing to its provisions, the draft national plan secures Romania's participation next year in commercial exchanges and international economic cooperation at higher leves of efficiency, with the Romanian foreign trade increasing 7-8 percent. The levels set are based on the rise in exports, by more markedly augmenting the share of high-quality and highly-finished commodities, more particularly in the case of the products of the machine-building industry, on the expansion of collaboration in and specialization of production with the CMEA member countries, with all the socialist countries, with the developing countries, as well as with the capitalist countries, in the spirit of equality and mutual advantage.

In consideration of the requirements for intensive development, next year's plan envisages a marked growth of efficiency in all areas of economic and social life. So, for instance, productivity in the national industry will go up 7-8 percent as against this year's levels.

As for the national income, it will increase 8-9 percent, and will be judiciously allotted to development and consumption.

The draft plan provides the necessary resources for the conclusion of the pay-raise drive, for larger sales of commodities and for the building of 160,000 dwellings, of which 40,000 in the rural area. Furthermore, the necessary means are secured for the further development and improvement of education and culture, for the betterment of health care and medical assistance.

As an outcome of the intensive growth and updating of agriculture, overall production will increase 5-5.5 percent as against the ongoing year. The tasks set in this area take account of the provisions under the national plan for stable crops, the programm of self-management and self-sufficiency by territorial units and the other programmes for the development of the production of cereals and technical plants, of vegetable growing, viticulture and fruit-tree growing, animal breeding, sericulture, apiculture, as well as fodder.

The capitalization of growing resources derived from farm production will provide for the sustained development of the food industry, the broad diversification of products and the improvement of their quality, with a view to meeting consumers' demands in ever better conditions.

In line with long-term programmes in force in the field of silviculture and water management provisions are also made for the sustained development of these areas, all while consistently applying environmental protection measures.

Referring to the draft states budget for 1989, the Romanian prime minister pointed out that it had been worked out in conditions of financial, monetary and currency balance, and provided for the integral financing of the economic and social units to be built the next year, on the basis of the application of the principles of worker self-management and of self-administration. Budget incomes rely on the obtainment of maximal profitability in every economic unit, while spending takes account of the use of all financial resources at high levels of efficiency.

Session Passes Bills, Budget

AU3011193988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/11/1988—On 30 November, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Chamber met in Bucharest, in order to debate bills meant to ensure further economic and social development to all the counties and localities in the country.

The participants debated and passed the Bill of the Single National Plan for Romania's Economic and Social Development in 1989, by territorial units, the Bill for the Development of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, the Bill of the 1989 local budgets, and the programme regarding self-management and self-supply with a view to providing the population with proper supplies of farm foods and industrial consumer goods in 1989.

Proceedings of the Legislative Chamber were opened by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-chairman of the State Council.

The speakers pointed out that through its provisions, the Bill of the Single National Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1989—by territorial units—creates conditions for harmonious, balanced development of all the counties and localities in the country.

Session Resumes 2 December

AU0212101588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 2/12/1988—At resuming the proceedings of the session of the Grand National Assembly (Romania's parliament) in the morning of December 2, Lina Ciobanu, deputy prime minister of Romania, delivered a paper on the self-management and self-sufficiency draft programme regarding the population's good supply of food and consumer industrial goods in 1989. The debates started on this normative act.

The proceedings of the session continue.

70th Anniversary of Unification Commemorated

Ceausescu Addresses Rally

AU3011193788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 30 Nov 88

["Bucharest Demonstration of the 70th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Unitary Romanian National State"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/11/1988—Over 120,000 citizens rallied in the morning of November 30 in the Republic Square in Bucharest Municipality to celebrate through a great and impressive demonstration the proclamation 70 years ago of the unitary Romanian national state. In the big square were representatives of all counties and of Bucharest Municipality— workers, peasants, intellectuals, pupils and students.

The participants in the demonstration enthusiastically welcomed President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu on their coming out of the Palace Hall where the big democratic forum had been held.

Making for the Headquarters of the CC of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu traversed the Republic Square through a genuine live corridor formed by delegates of all counties and of Bucharest Municipality.

President Nicolae Ceausescu made a brief address from the balcony of the CC Headquarters, evoking the significance of the historic act of December 1, 1918 that meant the foundation of the unitary Romanian national state.

I assure our friends abroad, all states in Europe and all over the world that the Romanian people, united, master of its destiny, wishes to live in collaboration and friendship with all peoples, to freely build its life as it wishes to, said President Nicolae Ceausescu.

We wish to collaborate for peace, for disarmament, for a better and more just world, the speaker stated.

Wreath-Laying Ceremony Held

AU0112210088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1957 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/12/1988—On the first of December, on the occasion of celebrating 70 years since the foundation of the Romanian unitary national state, floral wreaths and garlands were laid down at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, and at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Homeland, in Bucharest.

Floral wreaths were laid down on behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council and the Government of Romania, the Grand National Assembly, the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, ministries, mass and public organizations, and enterprises of Bucharest.

Floral wreaths were also laid down on behalf of the diplomatic corps.

Those attending the ceremony kept a moment's silence.

On the same occasion floral wreaths were laid down at the Mausoleum to the Heroes of Marasesti, as well as at Alba Iulia and in other localities where memorials stand to the struggle for the country's independence and for building the Romanian unitary national state.

Scientific Session Devoted to Anniversary

AU1811174788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 18 Nov 88

["National Scientific Session on the 70th Foundation Anniversary of the Unitary Romanian National State"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/11/1988—A national scientific session devoted to the anniversary of 70 years since the foundation of the unitary Romanian national state, entitled "The Romanian People's Struggle for National and Statal Unity, a Fundamental Coordinate of the Homeland's History. The Theoretical Work of President Nicolae Ceausescu—the Scientific Foundation of Knowledge of the Romanian People's History," took place in Bucharest, on November 18, under the aegis of the National Council of Science and Education.

The session, organized by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was participated in by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the CC of the party, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and government, representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, party and state activists, men of science, art and culture, researchers, students, military, working people of Bucharest.

Taking the floor, Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, said inter alia:

The national scientific session devoted to the 70th foundation anniversary of the national unitary Romanian State fits in the numerous events by which the epoch-making achievement of December 1, 1918 is praised by the whole people.

The grand historic action of seventy years ago marked the accomplishment of the ideal of national-statal unity of the Romanian people, the accomplishment of its eternal aspiration after living free and dignified in the ancestors' land.

Meant to present the dimensions of the great union of 1918, the events that preceded it, its sociopolitical consequences as well as its reverberation in present-day Socialist Romania, the papers of the current session are based on the theses, ideas and assessments of inestimable theoretical value comprised in the work of the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, who, from the stands of the revolutionary theory of the working class, the dialectical and historical materialism, of scientific objectiveness, gave the real measure of correct and comprehensive understanding of the Romanian people's evolution as a unitary, dynamic and permanent process, having as salient features freedom, social justice, national independence and unity.

The session papers make up, by their themes, a telling retrospective of the Romanian people's struggle for freedom and justice, for unity and independence, a telling synthesis of the grand achievements scored in the years of socialism, especially in the period inaugurated by the 9th Congress of the RCP.

Papers were presented at the session by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice president of the State Council; Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, rector of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences under the CC of the RCP; Academician Stefan Pascu; Ion Popescu-Puturi, member of the CC of the RCP, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the CC of the RCP; Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, member of the CC of the RCP, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army; Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology; Suzana Gidea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education; Ioan Totu, alternate

member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs; Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

It was highlighted in the papers that the grand historic action of December 1, 1918 of Transylvania's union with the motherland, was the law-like result of the long historic development of the Romanian society, of the heroic struggle fought along centuries for the building of the unitary Romanian national state, for the Romanian people's right to live free and independent in the natural boundaries where it was born and has lived for millennia. The awareness of unity and continuity, the boundless love for the ancestors' land, the originality and high grade of civilization conferred on the Romanian people resilience to all vicissitudes of history.

The papers disclosed the fact that the glorious event of seven decades ago, that was a genuine cornerstone in modern Romania's development, was not the effect of a chance, the fruit of a mere congenial conjuncture or of understandings reached round the negotiations table, but the result of the resolute struggle of the broadest mass of people. The historic accomplishment of 1918 of the Romanian people enjoyed wide recognition with the peoples and nations of the world and was sanctioned in the peace treaties.

Emphasis was placed on the role of the popular mass that was the decisive force of the struggle for the building of the unitary Romanian national state and recorded many pages of heroism in the national history. It was shown that all political forces and social classes interested in the Romanian society's progress, with the working class in the first ranks, participated in the struggle for the building of the unitary national state.

The papers emphasized in that frame the decisive importance borne for the unfolding of the whole revolutionary struggle in the years that followed by the foundation of the RCP—the first political party at the scale of all Romania—that fully identified itself with the people's supreme aspirations. Continuing the most advanced struggle traditions of the Romanian people, the RCP unfolded vast political and organizational activity for the mobilization and rallying of all patriotic forces of the whole nation in the struggle against fascism, revisionism and war, for the attainment of the ideals of social justice, progress and civilization.

The national scientific session highlighted the significance of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 23, 1944, that opened up a new era in Romania's history on the path to the accomplishment of the Romanian people's ideals and aspirations after freedom, of the full winning of national independence and sovereignty, of Romania's assertion as a free and dignified country.

Extensively featured was the glorious road traversed by the Romanian society under the RCP leadership in the years of socialist construction and especially after the historic 9th Congress (1965), a period of profound revolutionary changes and grand accomplishments in all domains of socioeconomic life.

Emphasis was placed in the context on the decisive role and contribution of President Nicolae Ceausescu to the elaboration and implementation of the RCP and Romanian state policy to the building of modern, Socialist Romania, to enriching the scientific patrimony of socialism and communism, to the development of the revolutionary theory and practice.

In the period opened by the 9th RCP Congress, that gave new dimensions to the whole political, economic, social and spiritual activity of Romania, the Romanian historical science was given the foundation of dialectical and historic materialism, of strict observance of the truth, of emphasizing the mass' decisive role in the struggle for unity and independence, freedom and social progress, and the Romanian people was redeemed the feeling of national dignity and price, the national history was redeemed its legitimate rights.

The papers presented during the scientific session assessed highly the theses and orientations of President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the long, heroic, single and unitary history of the Romanian people, an example of rigorously substantiated approach and settlement of the past-present-future relation in the complex process of transformation of the Romanian society.

The participants in the session stressed the contribution of the RCP and Romanian state leader to the elaboration of an original strategy of wide perspective, materialized in all political documents endorsed in these years, the translation into life of which have ensured the raising of the Romanian socialist nation onto ever higher stages of progress and civilization.

The works of the national scientific session emphasized the realistic and dynamic character of the foreign policy of the RCP and Romanian State, the Romanian initiatives and demarches toward the deepening of the friendship and collaboration with all states, irrespective of social system, the constructive settlement, in the interest of all peoples, of the major and complex issues of the world today.

At the close of the session the participants addressed a telegram to the RCP general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Speeches Delivered to Session

AU2211104888

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 November, page 3, carries under the headline "The Romanian People's Struggle for National-State

Unity, Basic Element of the Homeland's History, and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Theoretical Works—A Scientific Basis for Becoming Acquainted With the History of the Romanian People" a 6,500-word report on the "National Scientific Session Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the United National Romanian State." The report consists of a 100-word report on the session, and reports on a 600-word opening speech and on 10 papers—400-900 words long—presented by full and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee, and by three other officials.

This scientific session, it is noted, was organized by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania under the aegis of the National Council for Science and Education.

According to the report, the opening speech was given by PEC member Constantin Olteanu. The founding of the united Romanian state on 1 December 1918, he says, was "an epoch-making event" and marked "the achievement of the ideal of national-state unity of our people" and the fulfillment of their constant desire to "live a dignified and free life."

Speaking about the papers to be presented, Olteanu emphasizes that they "are based on the theses, ideas, and assessments of priceless theoretical value contained in the monumental works of the party secretary general," which have contributed to the clear and comprehensive understanding of "the development of our people as a united, dynamic, and constant process." He points out that through their subject, the papers present "a telling retrospective of the Romanian people's struggle for freedom and justice, for unity and independence" and are a significant review of the "great achievements attained in the years of socialism, especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress," a period which, "with justified patriotic pride and great gratitude we call the 'Nicolae Ceausescu Era.'" Olteanu pays tribute to Elena Ceausescu's merits in the "unprecedented prosperity of science, education, and culture."

The 900-word report on the paper presented by Emil Bobu, PEC member, is entitled: "The Unity of All People Around the RCP and its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a Lasting Foundation for the Great Achievements Attained by Socialist Romania." The author emphasizes the "unity of the workers class and of the whole nation around the party," this being a "driving force of the constant and manysided progress of the Romanian society." He praises Ceausescu's "prodigious revolutionary activity for the benefit and happiness of the country" and Elena Ceausescu's activity in the party and state leadership.

The 700-word report on the paper read by Manea Manescu, PEC member, is entitled: "The Significance of the United National Romanian State for Romania's Socioeconomic Development. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on Creating a Modern Socialist Economy, the Lasting Basis of the Homeland's Many-Sided Progress." The author emphasizes that "the founding of the united national Romanian state freed an important territorial and demographic potential from foreign domination." He reviews the "great achievements" and "material and cultural changes during the fruitful period of manysided progress and socialist civilization opened by the Ninth RCP Congress," and praises Ceausescu's "great merit" in scientifically organizing and leading social activity.

The 600-word report on the paper presented by Dumitru Popescu, PEC member, is entitled: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on the Role of the State and of the Nation in Socialism." After praising Ceausescu's contribution to "correcting, clarifying, and developing the theory on the state and nation," the author emphasizes that, "parallel with clarifying basic problems of the statal doctrine," the state apparatus and bodies were reorganized, administrative-territorial reform was carried out, and the state's cultural-educational role was ensured.

The 500-word report on the paper read by Academician Stefan Pascu points out that "in the case of the Romanian people's history, the foundation—solidly and deeply rooted in the soil and awareness—is Dacian - Roman" and the "basic ideals are: justice, national and social freedom, and national-state independence and unity." In describing the Romanian people's struggle for unity, he emphasizes that nothing could divert their determination, "their thoughts and desire for unity, especially since Transylvania's forced integration into the Hungarian Kingdom" accentuated the "tendency toward the de-nationalization of the Romanians." He reviews historical events up to the 1 December Alba Iulia national rally proclaiming the unification between Transylvania and Romania.

The 500-word report on the paper read by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute for Historic and Sociopolitical Studies, is entitled: "The Role of the People's Masses and of the Revolutionary Workers Movement in the Struggle for Achieving a United National Romanian State." The author reviews historic events and the "decisive role of the masses in the struggle to defend their freedoms and their ancient land."

The 500-word report on the paper presented by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, is entitled: "Domestic and International Conditions Under Which the Process of Founding the United National Romanian State Was Finalized and Its Historic Importance." The author emphasizes that it was of great importance at home that "in the struggle to achieve unity, there was a broad and indestructible national consensus and this ensured the involvement of all social classes and categories, and of all political forces throughout the area inhabited by Romanians." He reviews the most important stages of the Romanian people struggle to achieve a united national state.

The 500-word report on the paper presented by Ion Ursu, PEC candidate member, is entitled: "The Role of Science and Education in Molding and Developing the Awareness of the Romanian People's National Unity." After quoting what Ceausescu said in one of his speeches in connection with the deep roots of science and culture in the history of the Romanian people, the author mentions the "great personalities at the helm of science and education in our country, who have contributed, throughout time, to the consolidation of the cultural unity of the Romanians, to the awakening of the national awareness, and to its mobilization for the struggle for founding the united national Romanian state." He stresses that "all great achievements" are "indissolubly linked" with Nicolae Ceausescu's name. Paying tribute to Elena Ceausescu's works in the field of chemistry, he describes her as "the most prestigious representative of today's Romanian science."

The 400-word report on the paper delivered by Suzana Gadea, PEC candidate member, is entitled: "The Romanian People's Struggle To Achieve National Unity as Depicted in Art and Literature." According to the report, the author recalls the 1 December 1918 event which took place as a result of the "will of the nation," and stresses that it is the duty of all men of art and culture to draw on "the great ideas of the epoch." She praises Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu for their "special merits" in culture.

The 600-word report on the paper read by Ioan Totu, PEC candidate member, is entitled: "International Recognition and Confirmation of the Historic Act Achieved by the Romanian People on 1 December 1918." The author emphasizes the "correctness of the struggle waged by the Romanian people to achieve national unity and the objective and lawful nature of irreversible historic processes regarding the achievement of the country's integrity." He then notes that the 1 December 1918 act won international recognition after the Paris peace conference. In conclusion, the author reviews Romania's foreign policy and Ceausescu's initiatives to constructively solve current problems.

The report on the paper presented by Nicolae Constantin, PEC member, is entitled: "The Nicolae Ceausescu Era—An Era of Great Accomplishments in the Noble Aspirations of the Romanian People." The author describes Romania as "a free and dignified country mastering its destiny and independently building its socialist present and communist future, a country that enjoys great and a well-deserved prestige throughout the world." He reviews Romania's achievements in the "golden era" which is termed by "our whole nation—with fervent patriotic pride and gratitude toward its ingenious founder—'the Nicolae Ceausescu Era.'"

In conclusion, the author emphasizes that "socialism cannot exist without freedom," that "the building of the new system is possible only in conditions of complete freedom and national sovereignty."

Unification Anniversary Celebrated in Articles

Stoian Produces Article

AU0711193188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 7 Nov 88

["Article"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 7/11/1988—In an article run by SCINTEIA of 6 November Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, shows among other things: Any attempt to question the correctness of setting up scores of national states and of asserting the independent nations, especially in this half of the century, is part of the political and ideological arsenal of the apologists of the people's national oppression, serves the exploiting interests of the most reactionary imperialist and colonialist circles.

Underscoring that, along history, the nation has played one of the major roles in speeding up social progress, the author notices that the negation or minimalization of its historical role in the present stage of societal development would lead to less concern for the assertion of relations of equality among nations. In accordance with the RCP's conception, the article points out, the nation is and will be, for a long time, a highly mobilizing factor in the fight for progress, for freedom and social justice.

As experience has proved, the socialist society can be established in one country or another only by the respective people, by the respective nation, the author shows. The outside attempts to impose a political system which is not deeply rooted in the economic and social conditions of the respective country have always been doomed to failure. That is why the RCP and the Romanian state have constantly declared firmly against the export of revolution or counterrevolution. Highlighting that solidarity with the progressive and anti-imperialist forces does not mean military intervention, President Nicolae Ceausescu resolutely reiterates the need for a complete end to interference in internal affairs, for the observance of the peoples' right to independently choose their development path, the author further shows.

The current controversies which have a direct political significance for the human condition are based on the very ignorance of the generally valid truth that the essential aspects of human rights in their diversity and complexity cannot be effectively solved otherwise but in each country, in the conditions of peaceful development. The national political factors bear the responsibility to their own people for the way in which they guarantee it a free and dignified life, ensure the moulding and multilateral assertion of the personality of each member of society. Of special theoretical and practical significance is the idea according to which, during tumultuous changes on a national and international plane like the ones in our days, various points of view inevitably occur, of which many are wrong or confused with regard to the

conclusions drawn from the development of the new, socialist society till now and to the ways and forms of its future evolution. It must be said that, along history, this phenomenon has been met and such manifestations are not new. The RCP and the Romanian state hold the view that a thorough analysis should be made of the complex processes in their specific evolution so as to draw the due conclusions and outline the ways of improving all spheres of socialist construction, starting from the results obtained through purposeful efforts in building the new system in the given conditions and over an extremely short period of time, if we see it historically. The author underlines in conclusion the opportuneness of objectively evaluating the achievements in socialist countries, starting from the fact that society, hence socialism, too, cannot be built on a barren land but on everything that has been achieved in time.

Manescu Contributes Item

AU1411203188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 14 Nov 88

["The Romanian People's Fight for Liberty, National Unity and Independence in President Nicolae Ceausescu's Theoretical Work—Excerpts From an Article Contributed by Manea Manescu, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Vice-President of the State Council, in 'SCINTEIA' of 13 November 1988"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/11/1988—The cardinal problems of the Romanian people's evolution are given pride of place in President Nicolae Ceausescu's sociopolitical thinking. The realities of Romanian society in all times are scientifically and creatively approached in full harmony with the laws of economic and social development, with the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. President Nicolae Ceausescu refers in pages of great revolutionary and patriotic force to the fundamental moments in the Romanian people's history of over 2,500 years: its continuity and permanence in the ancestors' land, and its fight for the safeguarding of the homeland and for national unity. Lying at the basis of this scientific and political demarche is the conviction that we have a heroic history, that in the huge process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism one should know and elucidate the major events in the history of the formation of the people and the nation in the broad context of world history. President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on history is underlain by the imperative of investigating and correspondingly characterizing, in the light of the truth based on facts and documents, both the role of the social classes, of the people and the role of leaders, of political, scientific and cultural personalities in the development of the nation.

The Romanian people's origin and language, the unity of economic interests and of the forms of life, its customs, culture and civilization— decisive factors in its formation and assertion—are consistently highlighted in the historical work of the RCP and Romanian state leader's historical work.

The historical heritage shows that an ancient and original civilization developed in the territory of Dacia in symbiosis with the Roman civilization. Synthetizing the content of the intertwining between the two material and spiritual civilizations the outcome of which is the Romanian people as a distinct entity, the RCP general secretary shows that the infinite column of the national history is unity and continuity, the link with the ancestors' land. Therefrom derived the forefathers' power to resist the migratory populations, all the vicissitudes of history, to organize in cnezates [principalities] and voivodships, then in the Romanian feudal states of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, to ardently fight for the accomplishment of statal unity in the territory of ancient Dacia. In the deciding moments of the development of the homeland great personalities emerged who bravely led the people in its heroic fight to stop the invaders and preserve the flame of national unity over the times. Telling are the daring resistance put by valiant country and army leaders like Mircea the Old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad Tepes, and Stephen the Great who made a decisive contribution to safeguarding the independence of the homeland and the liberty of the people, to defending the European civilization.

According to President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception, one of the guidelines is the essential idea that the union in a single state was not only an aspiration nurtured by some advanced Romanians but also a national feeling developed and consolidated in all the three Romanian statal formations. From the very beginning close links developed among the Romanian countries, and taking more than once, concerted action to safeguard their national being, freedom and independence.

The RCP general secretary has repeatedly shown that a community of territory, economic and cultural interests and of language took shape and cemented over hundreds of years. A symbol of the will of national unity was the historic work of Michael the Brave, the unifier, who called himself Prince of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia on 27 May 1600 in the name of the people's sacred right and will. The union was short-lived but it proved that the obstacles to the achievement of the Romanians' political unity in its own statal body were surmountable.

The fight for social and national liberation, for the accomplishment of state unity and independence entered a higher stage in the modern era. Analysing in this context the conditions in which the revolutions led by Horea, Closca and Crisan (1784), by Tudor Vladimirescu (1821) took place, marking the beginning of the modern history of Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu shows that the events brought to the fore the liberating force of the masses of people.

In the sociopolitical work of the country's president an in-depth analysis is made of the 1848 revolution, a moment of cardinal importance, when the consciousness

of national unity of the Romanians in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania powerfully manifested. The people's uprising in 1848 had a unitary character in all the Romanian countries. As a matter of fact, a single Romanian revolution took place when action was undertaken for the overthrowal of foreign domination, the abolition of feudal servitudes and the liberation of peasants, of the masses of people oppressed for centuries, and the building of a modern, united and free Romania.

The Romanian Revolution of 1848 was defeated owing rather to the violent interference of the neighbour empires—Ottoman, Tsarist and Habsburg, profoundly hostile to the people's firm will of national unity and independence, than to the opposition of the internal reactionary forces. Yet, it stimulated the development of the new forces of production and the new social relations in the three Romanian countries. Conditions were provided for the building of the modern national state through the union of Wallachia with Moldavia in 1859 as well as for the winning of Romania's absolute independence in 1877 through heavy sacrifices.

In his historical work the RCP general secretary underlines the basic idea that in such circumstances the will of action asserted itself even more powerfully at the beginning of the 20th century for the creation of the unitary national state—an objective that polarized all the Romanians hopes and fights, the aspirations of the people in Transylvania to be freed from the national and social oppression of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and live again within the boundaries of the ancestors' land.

Special significance is attached in President Nicolae Ceausescu's sociopolitical work to the truth that national unity was the historical cause for which Romania entered the vortex of the first world conflagration and waged fierce fights in defence of the homeland, against the German military occupants. The Romanian Army, the masses of people across the country, the Romanians in Transylvania and Bucovina heroically wrote down unfading pages of history.

The elan of the fight for the accomplishment of the Romanians' statal unity after the collapse of the Tsarist empire, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy culminated in the great constituent meeting of 1 December 1918 in Alba Iulia. On that memorable day, more than 100,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals, tradesmen gathered in Horea's Plain to unanimously adopt the historical act of the formation of the unitary national state through the union of Transylvania with Romania for all times, thus expressing the will of the whole people.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the law-like, objective character of the events in 1918, brought out in bold relief the historical truth that the union was neither the effect of hazard nor the fruit of a mere favourable circumstance, of understandings reached at the international negotiation table, that the patriotic and revolutionary act of 1 December 1918 is the outcome of the decisive fight of the broadest masses of people.

An analysis of such historical circumstances evinces the truth that foreign domination, the existence of powerful empires in the vicinity of Romania delayed socioeconomic progress in one period or another, just as the formation of the Romanian nation, of the unitary state. Life, history are witnesses that the Romanian people's aspirations could be attained, and that the people could surmount any difficulty and win victory through its formation as a free and independent nation.

The unitary national state built in the whole territory inhabited by Romanians stimulated the development of the forces of production, paved the way for the assertion of the country on the coordinates of progress and civilization, and brought about the intensification of the working-class, revolutionary and progressive movement.

The reforms endorsed after the union had a restrictive character owing to the capitalist economic and social structure, the division of society into antagonist classes. Since the state continued to be ruled by the bourgeoisie and landlords even after the great union of 1918. The working people could not fully assert its creative power. It was exploited and oppressed and its democratic liberties and rights were repressed. The people's lofty goals were fundamental in the programmes of the revolutionary and patriotic forces in Romania, of the revolutionary party of the working class—the RCP, founded in 1921.

In the hard years of the Second World War, under circumstances in which the unity which was accomplished with so many sacrifices in 1918 had to suffer painful territorial amputations in the summer of 1940 and the country, in contradiction with the national will and interest, was pushed into Hitler's aggression, the RCP united all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces in a large fighting front, preparing and accomplishing the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation in August 1944.

The revolutionary and patriotic act of August 1944 marked the beginning of a new era in the country's history, paved the way for the attainment of the people's ideals and aspirations after liberty, for the winning of full national independence and sovereignty, and Romania's assertion as a free and dignified country in the contemporary world.

Ilie Ceausescu Writes Essay

AU1611194188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 16 Nov 88

["The National and Popular Character of the War for the Reunification of the Homeland (1916-1918)—Excerpts From an Article Contributed by Lt.Gen. Ilie Ceausescu in SCINTEIA of 16 November"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/11/1988—In the history of fights waged by the Romanian people for national

unity and independence, Romania's participation in the first world military confrontation of the 20th century had a national and popular character owing to all the Romanians' involvement in the fight.

After a long and mature thinking, decisionmakers in Bucharest made the responsible option of entering the great conflagration, starting in August 1916 the war for the liberation of the brothers in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Bucovina subjugated by the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In the complex historical circumstances determined by the extension of military operations throughout Europe, the Romanian Government's decision, which pursued exclusively national goals, proved to be the sole solution in saving the Romanians and the Romanian territories under the Austro-Hungarian rule, and reunifying the homeland.

The recognition of the grounds for the Romanian national claims by the four great continental powers of the time—France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy—through the political treaty and the military convention signed in Bucharest on 4/17 August 1916 meant the assertion of the justness of Romania's national unity goal on an international plane. Unlike many belligerent states, Romania aimed in no way at conquering territories or subjugating foreign peoples. It was compelled to join the fight for a legitimate historical right—its reunification and national independence.

The legitimate national and broadly popular character of the historical act of the Romanian Army's crossing the Carpathians in the night of 14/27 to 15/28 August 1916 is obvious in all the documents of the time, having been clearly expressed by politicians, front-ranking militants of the working-class and socialist movement, by outstanding personalities of the scientific and cultural life, representatives of the army, and by Romanian and foreign journalists.

Referring to the cause of Romania's entrance into the war, the Italian newspaper IL GIORNALE D'ITALIA informed its readers that "almost all Romanians outside Romania, that is—the Romanians who do not take part in the life of independent Romania, are under the rule of the Habsburg monarchy under its twofold aspect—Austria and Hungary. To tear away their brothers from the rapacious hands of the Habsburg monarchy, free them from the insufferable Magyarization is the Romanian patriots' dream and the reason for the new war".

The very fact that Romania's war declaration was addressed to Austro-Hungary alone clearly shows the fundamental objective of Romania's entrance into the huge vortex that encompassed mankind: the great step toward completing the process of Romanian statal reintegration.

The total, unreserved and enthusiastic participation in the 1916-1918 military effort was a telling expression of the will of an entire people which, to attain its life ideal, mobilized all its economic, demographic, political and military resources, all its material and spiritual capacities, being ready to make any sacrifice.

The national and popular character of the military effort made by Romanians, its exemplary and touching national solidarity shown in various forms conferred the Romanian society an impressive cohesion, force and full moral unity—deciding factors in obtaining the final victory.

The people's full adhesion was expressed in the general enthusiasm with which they answered the concentration.

The news of the Romanian troops' crossing the Carpathians and of the liberation of the brothers across the mountains produced great enthusiasm throughout the country. In various forms the Transylvanian Romanians tried to support and hasten the liberating effort. Some 30,000 Romanians across the mountains requested to be immediately enrolled in the units that victoriously advanced on the ever-Romanian land of Transylvania.

In an appeal addressed to all the inhabitants when entering the city of Brasov, the commander of the Second Romanian Army, General A. Averescu, underlined that "the Romanian Army, treading the sacred land where our oppressed kin's voice could have been heard for centuries, came with no inimical thought against the people of any law and of any kin who stayed by their hearths, being alike pervaded by the same fraternal feelings for the whole peaceful people".

Overcoming highly difficult circumstances—the occupation of over two thirds of the territory of free Romania by the end of 1916, political and military isolation at the end of the ensuing year and the beginning of 1918, the enslaving peace of Bucharest in May 1918, the bloody reprisal of the Romanians under the dual monarchy, a.o.—the Romanians understood to rally in a perfect national solidarity and continue to undauntedly fight till the final victory. The facts cannot be forgotten which led to the rebirth of the Romanian Army that emerged victor in the summer of 1917, just as the numberless actions of protest and opposition of the population in the invaded territories, and the courageous actions of the partisans' detachments, the activity of workers, peasants and scientists to assist the defensive effort, of scholars, diplomats and politicians abroad for the promotion of the ideal of accomplishing national unity, the Romanian justice, the sacrifice of the Romanians in the occupied territories and many other suchlike facts of deep and sincere love for the homeland.

However thorough the recovery of the army had have been in the winter and spring of 1917, it could not have resisted the powerful defensive of the enemy in the summer of the same year unless the fighting technique had not been added the courage, the sense of sacrifice, the conscience of the sacred ideal and the lofty patriotism that inspired the heroes of Marasti, Marasesti and Oituz.

The political and military action of Romania in 1916-1918 was eventually crowned by a brilliant success because it was based on the people's full support and on a broad national consensus. The triumph of the imprescriptible right to statal unity was nobody's present nor was it the outcome of understandings reached at the negotiation table. It was exclusively the results of the Romanian people's steady fight.

Australian Relations Worsen; Consulate To Close

TANJUG Views Incident 30 Nov

LD3011182588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 30 Nov 88

"Why Do Australian Authorities Fail To Curb Pro-Ustasha Extremists?"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 30 (TANJUG)—After they did virtually nothing to protect the territorial inviolability of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney and the physical integrity of the people working in it, the Australian authorities ae now considering the possibility of closing the Yugoslav mission.

If something like that were to happen, and we believe that it will not, things would stand like this: As the Australian authorities have not been able to bridle pro-Ustasha terrorists and will furthermore not refuse them hospitality, the problem is then "solved" by denying hospitality to Yugoslav diplomats.

If such a logic were to be widely followed in international practice, the world diplomatic map would be very much torn asunder.

Nevertheless, this is an affair of the Australian authorities alone—they can close the consulate and expel the Yugoslav diplomats to boot, and even break off diplomatic relations. This would be the easiest thing to do, anyway.

This, however, is not the crux of the matter.

Yugoslavia and Australia have so far trodden a different common path, one leading to a strengthening and promotion of bilateral relations, which are among other things enriched by a large Yugoslav expatriate colony on the fifth continent.

Things have now almost reached a point of absurdity. The good relations between the two countries can deteriorate owing to pro-Ustasha ruffians who have been active throughout Australia for decades and who have even gone as far as to send terrorists-commandos to Yugoslavia from there.

All this is very well known to the Australian authorities. There have even been books published on the subject in Australia.

That is why pressure from Canberra on Yugoslavia is surprising, because this can only be in favour of the terrorist elements who will be the sole ones to be satisfied if relations between the two countries are brought into question.

No one in Yugoslavia is happy about the incident which occurred on Sunday, November 27, outside the Yugoslav Sydney Consulate. Yugoslavia and its representatives in Sydney, however, were unable to do anything apart from maybe throwing themselves at the mercy of the enraged terrorists who broke down the consulate gate, burst into the yard and tried to take down and desecrate the Yugoslav flag.

The Australian authorities could have done much more. Their duties are very clearly defined in international conventions which this country both adopted and signed. According to these documents, the duty of the host country is to protect the territorial inviolability of diplomatic representations, and guarantee the immunity, the dignity and personal safety of diplomatic and consular representatives. On the basis of long established international practice, in certain situations it is the duty of the host country to use force if it is necessary to preserve the safety of the diplomats, their buildings and archives.

The Australian authorities on this occasion did not do this, although they were warned in advance and should have been aware of this without warning. The pro-Ustasha terrorists carried out 15 attacks over the past 17 years on Yugoslav diplomatic and consular and other representation offices in this country.

On Sunday only five policemen were sent to guard the Yugoslav Consulate against over 1,000, maybe even 1,500 demonstrators whose aim, however, was not to demonstrate outside the Yugoslav Consulate but to carry out a raid on the consulate.

At present it is known that the terrorists wanted to take down the Yugoslav flag. What they intended to do after that, if they had not been challenged, remains unknown.

When they saw the pro-Ustasha terrorists invading the consulate yard without any resistence from the police, the staff of the Yugoslav representation had no choice but to defend their flag, their consulate and their personal physical integrity.

At this moment a 16-year-old youth and the Yugoslav consul were wounded. No one is happy that (?warning) shots were fired and that people were wounded or injured, but all well-meaning Yugoslavs and Australians must be concerned.

The problem no longer lies in the incident. The Australian authorities have focused all their attention and exerted pressure on Yugoslavia, concentrating attention on the consequences of the incident, on what happened in Sydney on Sunday, while the essence of the problem does not lie there. It is much more complex. A solution must be sought elsewhere, it must be sought in what brought about the violent raid on the Yugoslav Consulate. It is neither an unfamiliar incident nor an accident. Pro-Ustasha extremists have long been active in Australia in that way. The Ustashas trained their terrorist-Commandos in Australia, and they continue to plot their conspiratorial, anti-Yugoslav actions.

What have the Australian authorities done to thwart them, to stop the Ustashas' savageries which should concern them as well? They did nothing on Sunday, nor anything previous to the incident.

It is not up to Yugoslavia to establish the actual internal or other motives and causes of the incomprehensible pressure, justified and fostered by a regretable event and a distorted, i.e. one-sided interpretation of everything which happened on Sunday night. As it is well known, exerting pressure is the worst possible way of dealing with Yugoslavia.

1 Dec FEC Statement

LD0112172288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—The FEC today rejected the Australian Government's ultimatum to hand over the security worker in the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney, who, in the face of an onslaught by a group of fascist pro-Ustasha emigres last Sunday, fired shots in the air, defending the building of the consular mission and the Yugoslav flag.

During the incident a 16-year-old demonstrator was injured, but some of the Yugoslav employees in the Consulate also received injuries while defending our consular mission from the demonstrators.

Today, the Australian Government officially requested that the man be handed over, and it threatened that if this is not done it will close our consulate in Sydney.

The Yugoslav Government statement reads:

At today's session, the FEC considered information from the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on the attack by a group of fascist pro-Ustasha emigres on the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney. A group in fact broke into the courtyard of the consulate and attempted to set fire to the Yugoslav flag. In connection with this, the Australian competent organs failed to take measures to safeguard our consulate as expected and as they are bound to do by international convention and other acts of international law, despite the fact that they were given a timely warning of the possibility of such an attack. This is precisely why the group of fascist terrorists were able to break into the courtyard of the Yugoslav Consulate. The security worker had no choice but to fire shots into the air and warn the Australian organs that a dangerous attack on the integrity of the Yugoslav consulate had been perpetrated and that the life and safety of workers in the consulate and their families was directly endangered. Bearing this in mind, the FEC has rejected the ultimatum-style request by the Australian Government to hand over the security worker who fired into the air. The FEC is expecting the competent organs of Australia to undertake all the necessary measures to identify and punish the perpetrators of the terrorist attack on the Yugoslav Consulate. The FEC also believes that the whole problem ought to be resolved in a principled way and in the interests of the further development of Yugoslav-Australian relations.

Ultimatum Reexamination Urged

LD0112185388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, this evening requested, via the Australian charge d'affaires in Belgrade, that the Australian Government reexamine its ultimatum vis-a-vis Yugoslavia and examine all the facts connected with the recent incident at the SFRY Consulate in Sydney. If this is not done, Loncar stressed, the Yugoslav side will react by taking appropriate measures.

Loncar stressed that Yugoslavia rejects the Australian Government's standpoint on this incident, because this ultimatum is unacceptable in relations between sovereign countries.

1 Dec Commentary on Incident

AU0112200788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Milorad Denda commentary "On the Complications in Yugoslav-Australian Relations"]

[Text] Australia's ultimatum, which as you have heard the Yugoslav Government has resolutely rejected, is considered in the Yugoslav public as a crude confusion of the causes and consequences of the events in the courtyard of the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney on 27 November. Instead of obtaining a reply from the Australian Government to the question posed the very next day, as to what measures had been taken against the rowdies who crudely violated the consulate property, the dignity of the state, and the dignity and physical safety of our employees; and instead of responding to our request that adequate measures of protection should finally be taken at our diplomatic and consular missions, the Yugoslav Government received an ultimatum demanding that it should deliver its own citizen to another country, which not only belongs to the sphere of irrational demands, but also is a method unacceptable in communicating with a sovereign state.

It is surprising that a government should make such demands, considering that it was the inaction of its organs that brought our representatives into a situation in which they had to defend themselves on their own territory. According to the Vienna Convention of 1963, the host country is obliged, I quote, to offer protection and to take all the necessary measures so as to prevent forcible entries, disturbance of peace, and violations of dignity; but all these things occurred in the Yugoslav consulate courtyard on 27 November.

Experts in international law point out that the event is so gross and incomprehensible that it could be exceeded only by, say, a forcible entry by police and the army in the premises of a diplomatic or consular mission of a country and its capture by force.

The Vienna Convention also says that a consulate premises—and a courtyard is part of the premises—are inviolable, and that the host country, in this case Australia, must take all the appropriate measures to protect the persons, freedom, and dignity of consular officials. However, our consul general literally scuffled with a dozen attackers. At that moment, when more than 30 attackers jumped over a 2-meter wall to join a group of some 15 excited youths with which the consulate personnel were scuffling, warning shots were fired into the air. The right to self-defense is known to all legal systems in the world, and it is also recognized in international public law; every citizen, as well as a foreigner, has the right to defend himself by all means when he is endangered, and this applies even more to diplomatic and consular personnel, especially when the protection by the host country fails.

We will leave aside the motives that lead the Australian Government to such crude and unacceptable ultimatums. It was said in our government's statement and during the meeting between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and the charge d'affaires that Yugoslavia resolutely rejects such a language. Yugoslavia will not and cannot surrender its citizen. It has always believed in the possibility of stable and useful relations between the two countries, and it expects Australia to reexamine its decisions.

Its present behavior merely encourages the hostile emigrants in their activities.

An aggravation of the Australian-Yugoslav relations in fact plays into the hand of the Yugoslav emigrants and their activities to disturb good relations between the two countries. We suppose that Canberra is aware that the terrorist attack on our consulate in Sydney was directed precisely against good Yugoslav-Australian relations.

New Australian Ambassador to SFRY

LD0112233388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2235 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 1 (TANJUG)—The newly appointed Australian ambassador to Yugoslavia Francis W.S. Millne arrived in Belgrade tonight.

Yugoslav-Australian relations became very strained after a group of fascist pro-Ustashi immigrants atacked the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney last week.

The Yugoslav Government rejected today's Australian ultimatum, isued with the threat of closing down the consulate, the hand over a consulate security guard who fired warning shots into the air defending the consular mission and the Yugoslav flag.

Protest Expected in Sydney

LD0212085388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Summary] Sydney, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—The Australian ultimatum to Yugoslavia in connection with the Pro-Ustasha demonstrations and the warning shots fired on 27 November at the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney expires at 1000 Yugoslav time [0900 GMT]. This afternoon the police began to set up barricades in front of our consulate in Sydney, "In view of the fact that several thousand patriotically-inspired demonstrators from Sydney, Wollongong, and Newcastle have announced their intention to demonstrate in front of the building of the Yugoslav consulate as a sign of protest against the Australian Government and in support of Yugoslavia."

Belgrade Request Rejected

BK0212031888 Hong Kong AFP in English 0303 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Canberra, Dec 2 (AFP)—Australia on Friday rejected Belgrade's request that it withdraw a threat to close the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney unless a guard surrenders to face charges of shooting a young Croatian demonstrator.

"We've drawn the line. It's up to them to observe it or step over it," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said hours before the 6 p.m. (0700 GMT) Friday deadline set by Australia for the surrender.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar summoned Asutralia's charge d'affaires in Belgrade to ask Canberra to reconsider its ultimatum.

But after a meeting of senior Australian Foreign Ministry officials here, a spokesman said, "there is nothing in the preliminary response that has influenced the government to change its course of action."

An Australian radio station reported Friday that the consular staff were preparing to leave, but a woman who answered the phone at the mission said only, "We have no comments."

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans announced Thursday that the Yugoslav consulate would be closed and its staff expelled if the guard, Zoran Matijas, did not surrender for Sunday's shooting incident.

Australian-born Josef Tokic, 16, was shot in the neck during a protest by 1,500 Croatian nationalists at the consulate, including some who stormed the compound and tried to haul down the Yugoslav flag.

The Australians say Mr Matijas enjoys no diplomatic immunity and should be prosecuted on charges of discharging a deadly weapon with intent to cause grievous bodily harm. Conviction could mean life in prison.

The Yugoslavs maintain the youth was wounded by the ricochet of a shot fired into the air to warn off the Croatians, who were campaigning to carve out an independent state from Yugoslavia.

Mr Evans said that if the guard was not handed over to police, the 12 consular staff and their dependants would have to leave Australia by Monday.

The minister added that if this happened, Australia would be bound by international convention to guarantee safe passage to all departing staff, including the guard.

He also said the authorities were barred from entering the compound.

But a Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Vienna convention guaranteed such privileges and immunities until the staff leave or until "expiry of a reasonable period."

Consulates exist by mutual agreement and once this is withdrawn—on Monday in this case—the local authorities would be free to enter the compound and arrest the suspect, he said.

The spokesman said there were no immediate plans for any further meetings with the Yugoslav Ambassador Boris Cizelj. "If there is to be another meeting it would presumably be at their request," he said.

Belgrade and Canberra established diplomatic ties only in 1967, and relations have been strained for years over what the Yugoslavs say are hostile activities by Croatian emigrants.

Feelings have been high here over the shooting incident. Unions in the state of New South Wales where Sydney is situated voted Thursday to halt garbage collections and mail deliveries to the consulate until the guard is handed over.

Consul Staff Asked To Leave 2 Dec

BK0212071988 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0700 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Australia has formally expelled staff of the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney. The deadline for Yugoslav authorities to hand over the security guard wanted for the shooting of a youth last Sunday during a pro-Croatian demonstration outside the consulate has expired.

The ultimatum by the foreign minister, Senator Gareth Evans, was not complied with. The security guard, along with the consular staff must now leave Australia before Monday evening.

TANJUG on Closure

LD0212091188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Sydney, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—The Australian Government today decided to close the Yugoslavia Consulate in Sydney and has given the staff until Monday evening to leave the country with their families. This has just been announced by Gareth Evans, the Australian minister of foreign affairs.

2 Dec TANJUG on 'Incident'

LD0212135288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1206 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 2 (TANJUG)—The November 27 incident in Sydney, when Ustasha terrorists forced their way into the grounds of the Yugoslav Consulate General there, could have been avoided had the Australian authorities acted on previous experience and provided better protection for the building of the Yugoslav diplomatic office, the Zagreb Daily VJESNIK writes on Friday.

Noting that the Ustasha terrorist attack has again put in the limelight the problem which has burdened Yugoslav-Australian relations for decades, Vjesnik underlines the indifference of the Australian authorities towards the anti-Yugoslav violent demonstrations staged by Ustasha terrorists.

Australia does not lack knowledge about Ustasha terrorists and the danger they pose to Yugoslav diplomatic, business and other representative offices abroad, the daily says. It cites a book by Australian expert in international terrorism, Andrew Selth, in which he lists all Croatian hostile organizations in Australia prone to terrorism. In the book "Terrorist Threat to the Diplomacy: Against Every Human Law," Selth claims that Australia, or more precisely the small town of Wodonga in Victoria, was the base for military exercises of the most notorious Croatian extremist terrorist organization calling itself the Croatian Revolutionary Fraternity, whose members in 1972 illegally entered Yugoslavia and killed 13 innocent citizens.

Precisely because of this, the impression is gained that earlier experiences have not proved to be warning enough to the Australian authorities to the danger of the Ustasha demonstrations on the eve of Yugoslavia's national holiday, November 29, turning into an incident of greater dimensions-which is exactly what happened, VJESNIK points out.

The Belgrade daily BORBA looks back on the Australian authorities' ultimatum demanding that Yugoslavia hand over the security officer in the Yugoslav General Consulate in Sydney who fired warning shots into the air when Ustasha demonstrators attempted to take down the Yugoslav flag on the consulate.

BORBA points out that the Australian Government has "done all in its might to convince us that ultimatums are not an outdated means of communication in international affairs."

Recalling that this form of communication belongs to the arsenals of cold-war times, the paper stresses that the ultimatum "can be countered by the same means, but it is clear to all but those living in the past that this leads nowhere."

In its commentary today the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG stresses that all available evidence clearly shows that the Yugoslav diplomatic representatives notified in advance the Australian authorities of the character and possible dangerous consequences of the pro-Ustasha demonstrations and that the reaction to the warning was insufficient and belated.

Finally, the fact that the Belgian Consulate in Sydney, which was exposed to attack only indirectly, complained to the Australian authorities about the insufficient protection is also an evidence of the gravity of the situation and the absence of prompt and adequate intervention on the part of the Australian police.

Unfortunately, this is not the first time that Yugoslav diplomatic representatives, as well as emigrants of Yugoslav descent who are loyal to their homeland become the target of threats, insults and violence. This is also not the first time that a host country failed to provide sufficient protection it is obliged to do not only under international agreements, but also under the basic norms of civilized behaviour, concludes TANJUG.

Consul General Protests Demonstrations in FRG

LD0112182588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Milovanovic, the SFRY consul-general in Stuttgart, has lodged a protest with the state authorities in Baden-Wuerttemberg over the burning of a Yugoslav flag last Saturday at an anti-Yugoslav demonstration in Stuttgart. The demonstrators themselves had brought along the flag.

In the meantime, the SFRY Consulate in Stuttgart, according to Milovanovic, has received a large number of telephone calls from Yugoslav citizens who expressed bitterness that the police allowed such an act to occur.

In his protest to the state authorities, Milovanovic also recalled that the recent attack on the Yugoslav Club in Tuttlingen, when seven pistol shots were fired, has still not yet been cleared up.

Two to three thousand members of the Albanian and Croatian anti-Yugoslav emigration had gathered in Stuttgart's main square. The reason for their meeting was Republic Day. After hostile speeches, the demonstrators set fire to the Yugoslav flag, unhindered by the police.

On the same day, Saturday, according to information obtained from Consul Mitja Drobnic, about 60 Albanians gathered in front of the SFRY Consulate in Mannheim, shouting the same slogans heard at the recent demonstrations in Pristina.

There were no uniformed police in front of the consulate so the demonstrators, unhindered, occupied the entrance and rang the doorbell of the representative office of the SFRY which is closed Saturdays.

Consul Drobnic stressed that on the other hand, Yugoslav Albanians were particularly active participant at the Republic Day celebrations in Mannheim, which were exceptionally well-attended.

Consul Arrested in U.S. for Money Laundering

LD0212092088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0807 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Washington, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—It has been announced here in Chicago that Bahrudin Bijedic, the Yugoslav consul-general, has been arrested and charged with the so-called "legalization" [legalizacija] of money of suspicious origin.

Vinko Mir, director of a branch of the Ljubljana Bank, another Yugoslav, and two U.S. citizens have also been arrested, accused of the same thing. It is said that these three "legalized" a sum of almost $1.5 million.

The reports on U.S. television on this arrest says that this involves the "laundering",i.e. legalization, of money obtained from the sale of drugs.

Vladimir Matic, the charge d'affaires at the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, who was informed about the arrests by the U.S. authorities only after they had been publicized, has lodged a protest as a result of this action and has requested that our consul-general be released.

Loncar Talks With French Officials in Paris

Talks With Dumas

LD2811234588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—The first round of French-Yugoslav talks opened with a detailed exchange of views on bilateral relations and cooperation in Paris today. Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas assessed that the dialogue comes at an appropriate moment and that the intensification of political contacts between the two countries is a result of the development of the international situation.

Pointing out the significance which France places on the further development of bilateral cooperation, Minister Dumas recalled the long-standing tradition of the two

countries' good political relations. He also pointed out that the attention with which France is following events in Yugoslavia results from the significance Yugoslavia has in East-West relations.

Speaking about circumstances in Yugoslavia, Foreign Secretary Loncar said that part of the difficulties which the Yugoslav economy is faced with is linked to its economic relations with other countries. Some of the problems must be resolved through the inflow of technology and capital from abroad, so that a halt in this field could cause additional difficulties, Loncar set out.

The two foreign ministers pointed out the necessity for new impetuses at the level of scientific and technological cooperation for the further advancement of economic relations. France, on its part, has expressed interest in investing in the Yugoslav economy.

Loncar and Dumas also discussed the position of the 100,000 Yugoslav workers in France. Foreign Secretary Loncar urged that France revoke the recent decision on mandatory entry visas for Yugoslav citizens.

Secretary Loncar today had talks with European Affairs Minister Edith Cresson. He will also be received by French President Francois Mitterrand this evening.

Received by Mitterrand

LD2911000188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—French President Francois Mitterrand received this afternoon Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, who is on a 2-day official visit to Paris. During a half-hour talk Mitterrand showed interest in the current situation in and the economic difficulties facing Yugoslavia. The French president insisted on having first-hand information on economic figures relevant to the current situation in our country. Budimir Loncar described the current trends in Yugoslavia, particularly its commitment to reforms and illustrated this with positive figures about cooperation with foreign countries, but also with weaknesses in the economic growth, high inflation, and decrease in the real value of personal incomes.

President Mitterrand stressed that he fully understands our difficulties which, as he sees them, can be resolved mainly by our own efforts, and he also offered guarantees of "France's friendly and constructive role as regards that section of our difficulties which depend on foreign help." President Mitterrand recalled that the Yugoslav people have always had enough energy and courage in the most serious circumstances and difficulties and stressed the international status of our country and its prominent position within the Nonaligned Movement.

During the talks relations between Yugoslavia and the European community were mentioned. President Mitterrand stressed in connection with this France's interest in broadening these relations, also in the framework of our economic reforms. In the context of the current economic difficulties in the world the two sides stressed the need for a North-South dialogue and for solving the problem of developing countries' excessive debts.

The French president stressed the need for continuing the meetings between France and Yugoslavia at the highest level and expressed the desire for such reciprocal visits to take place soon.

Holds Talks With Rocard

LD3011032188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—French Premier Michel Rocard this afternoon received Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who since yesterday has been on an official visit to Paris. Prior to this, Loncar had talks with Laurent Fabius, president of the French National Assembly, after which Deputy Speaker Michel Coffineau hosted a formal luncheon for him.

National Assembly President Laurent Fabius stressed the particuar interest of the institution which is leading moves for even more developed cooperation with Yugoslavia, at the same time offering assurances to Loncar that this is the general disposition among French political institutions. Stressing that he would have many topics on which to exchange views, Fabius added that time does not permit this and that therefore he would dwell on two questions. First and foremost, he wants the federal secretary to explain to him the current internal situation, above all the economic situation in Yugoslavia, together with our orientations, and second whether the present trend in the development of the international situation is helping us in our efforts to find a way out of the crisis. The federal secretary explained in great detail the internal developments, especially our orientation toward reform in terms of the market economy and the even more dynamic involvement in the international division of labor, as its most important characteristics. Loncar noted in particular our efforts to become involved in new trends towards integration and the importance of further cooperation with the European Community. Laurent Fabius promised full support for these Yugoslav efforts, adding that he personally will advocate that everything which can be done will be done to further develop French-Yugoslav relations.

French Premier Michel Rocard had talks with Loncar lasting more than an hour, although half this amount of time had been envisioned. This is the best illustration of French interest in relations with our country and in particular in its current internal developments. It was concluded on both sides, as the most important thing, that relations between Yugoslavia and France are good and that there is interest in and scope for further and more intensive development; it was assessed in particular that political relations are continuing to advance.

The French premier was first of all interested in our relations with the EC, even after the detailed explanation by Loncar in which reference was made to some difficulties, but also our great interest in this cooperation. It was concluded on both sides that we should persist in this; to be more precise, that we should strengthen cooperation in keeping with the Belgrade Declaration, all the aspects of which have still not yet been fully expressed in relation to West european integration. Loncar pointed out in particular the reform character of our measures which are designed to facilitate the more rapid emergence from the crisis, and spoke in detail on each of the "three reforms." The federal secretary also spoke about "the external" aspect, which is vital as support, especially new investments of foreign capital and the creation of conditions for our greater presence on the international market.

Rocard, while viewing these measures in a generally positive way, assessed as particulary correct our orientation toward the market, stressing that this offers additional scope for cooperation. He emphasized joint ventures as one of the new challenges and the possibilities being offered by changes in Yugoslav laws. Rocard also asked about the present difficulties in the self-managing system, being interested in whether this too would be valued [valorizovan] by the reforms which are underway.

Michel Rocard stressed in the talks the great interest of France in the most rapid possible emergence of Yugoslavia from the crisis, indicating once again its geopolitical and strategic importance for the broader stability of international relations. Premier Rocard accepted with pleasure an invitation to visit our country soon.

Federal Secretary Loncar this evening will have talks with Jean Lecanuet, chairman of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Commission, and then also with a number of prominent personalities in French political life, who will be attending Republic Day at the residence of the Yugoslav ambassador in Paris.

Talks Conclude 29 Nov

LD2911113588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2334 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—The second part of the official Yugoslav-French talks ended this evening with an exchange of opinions on the most important international issues and on cooperation between the two countries. Both sides agreed that the current political situation is marked by a relaxation of tension in East-West relations, opening up discussions on disarmament at the world and European level. Although France and Yugoslavia have different international positions, they share similar opinions on disarmament issues, including the need for a rapid conclusion of the Vienna conference, a resumption of negotiations on conventional arms, a conference on human rights, etc. In addition to considering the processes currently under way in the Soviet Union, the afternoon talks also focussed on the trends in the Mediterranean, since both countries are Mediterranean. Unfortunately, it was stated, this area has not yet been affected by the positive processes.

The French minister, Roland Dumas, listened attentively to Loncar's remarks on Balkan cooperation, Loncar acquainted his host, in detail, with the events which have occurred since the Balkan conference in Belgrade. Roland Dumas indicated that France views such trends in the Balkans and Yugoslavia's role in them in a positive manner, because they correspond with the new political climate in Europe.

Budimir Loncar also talked in detail about orientations which are currently being promoted in the Nonaligned Movement with respect to its modernization and participation in international currents. In that context, he especially stressed developent difficulties facing poor countries, their debts, and the necessity of establishing dialogue with the North. Minister Dumas listened respectfully and in reply, presented the French position that the problem of less developed countries is one of the basic questions facing world economic stability. Minister Dumas presented the French initiative and its goal of organizing an international conference on the permanent ban on the use and production of chemical weapons, welcoming the Yugoslav decision to participate in the conference on chemical weapons next January.

Before the conclusion the plenary meeting, the federal secretary met with the French Minister of European Affairs Edith Cresson. France's position and role in the European Community as well as prospects for bilateral relations in light of the creation of a single European market in 1992 were discussed both sides stressed that Yugoslavia must be an active participant in these efforts and it was encouraged to take full advantage of the opportunities within the existing agreement and participate more fully in the community's plans.

'Very Pleased' With Visit

AU3011165988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Budimir Loncar, our federal secretary for foreign affairs, gave a press conference in Paris at the conclusion of his official visit to France. TANJUG correspondent Milan Sokolovic reports:

In his interview with foreign and Yugoslav journalists today, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, stressed that he was very pleased with the overall effect of his visit to Paris. Objectively speaking, the treatment accorded to our minister exceeded the usual welcome to ministers of other countries. In less than 2 days, Loncar not only had several meetings with his host, Foreign Minister Dumas, but was also received by the three key people in the French political hierarchy: President Mitterrand, Premier Rocard, and National Assembly President Fabius.

In other words, as Budimir Loncar put it today, such interest by the hosts in Yugoslavia, and especially in its present troubles, is in fact a confirmation of the importance that the West and, as a part of it, France attach to our country. As the most important thing, France once again expressed its readiness for even closer political and economic cooperation with Yugoslavia, in the widest sense of the word. This means French support for our efforts to further enhance our cooperation with the EC as an integral part of the efforts to overcome the present economic difficulties.

It is obvious that one should work on this at once, so to speak, for this morning one of our representatives in Paris informed Budimir Loncar that a score of our trucks carrying Yugoslav goods have been stopped at the French border because we have exhausted our quota of entry permits for this year. Why did one not think about this in advance, Loncar asked, for the same thing is repeated every year at this time, although we are requested to increase our exports at any cost.

The question was in fact addressed to the respective federal administration in Belgrade.

Unscheduled Meeting With Dumas

LD3011180988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—Immediately prior to his departure for Belgrade, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, had a further meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

The meeting was arranged at the initiative of the French Minister who, he explained, wanted to have a further informal and unofficial meeting with his Yugoslav guest. The general assessment is that this was an unusual gesture of attention even by the well-known standards of French hospitality, which also illustrates the rapid establishment of personal contacts, something very useful in top-level diplomatic relations. At the same time the gesture by Dumas can also be seen as an indication of the special importance attached to the high-ranking representative from friendly Yugoslavia.

According to reports, the two foreign ministers "returned" in their talks to some of the most significant points in yesterday's official talks, and at the same time they informed each other about the latest developments on the world political scene.

Mikulic Greets Hungary's Nemeth on Appointment

LD2611060788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic has sent a message of congratulations and best wishes to Miklos Nemeth on his appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Mikulic Congratulates Albania on National Holiday

LD3011120888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—In connection with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania's national holiday, FEC President Branko Mikulic sent a telegram with congratulations and best wishes to Adil Carcani, chairman of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Ambassador Golob Heads Group to CSCE Talks

LD2611230888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna, Nov 25 (TAJUG)—Head of the Yugoslav delegation to the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) Vienna follow-up, Ambassador Ignac Golob, today urged the establishment of a clearcut relationship between the future conventional disarmament talks and the CSCE process.

Addressing the plenary, Golob stressed that the Vienna session had not yet fully implemented the ideas adopted at the CSCE Madrid session regarding the relationship between the future talks on conventional disarmament, to be attended by all the 23 member-states of the two blocs, on one hand, and the 35-member CSCE, on the other.

In this context, he recalled that the proposals of Europe's neutral and non-aligned countries furnish a clear basis for establishing such a relationship.

Golob expressed the view that the above questions can be dealt with at the Vienna session without further delay and emphasized that the sands adopted recently by the French delegation to the CSCE session were in the spirit of the commitment put forth by the European neutral and non-aligned countries.

Presidency Dialogue on EC Ties; Pardons 58

LD2411024088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1843 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav state Presidency Wednesday upheld a move by the European Community (EC) initiating the establishing of a regular political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the EC.

According to the presidency, both sides would profit from a broader dialogue on issues important for the development of relations in Europe, the promotion of cooperation and security in the Mediterranean, international economic relations and development problems.

The promotion of political dialogue, the presidency said, will also stimulate cooperation between Yugoslavia and EC members and the implementation of the declaration on

Yugoslav-EC dialogue. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1744 GMT on 23 November in a similar report adds: "At today's session the presidency also adopted a decision to pardon 58 condemned persons in connection with 29 November—Republic Day—and also a decision to pardon 27 persons on the basis of their appeals."]

Slovene Presidium Session Held 14 Nov

LD1611104088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Today's Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium session was led by Milan Kucan. In the context of preparations for the next republican plenum, the Presidium members concentrated on the development of the political situation in Slovenia after the Conference of Slovene Communists, and especially after the 17th and 18th LCY Central Committee session. They also concentrated on the Presidium and Central Committee standpoints on current questions and their reverberations among the public. The participants also focused on Socio-economic developmental problems, the latest phase in adopting the constitutional addenda, the trial before the Ljubljana Military Court, the elections for membership of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, and the departure of intellectuals from the ranks of the LC in the republic.

Dusan Sinigoj stressed the importance of struggling to eradicate the flash point of inflation. According to him, the position of the Yugoslav National Bank and its business functions, the problem of the clearing surplus of 2 billion dinars [debts owed by East bloc countries], and the covering of exchange rate differences—which Slovenia has in the main completely covered, should be reexamined. Sinigoj also stressed the necessity of generating greater income in order to meet the needs of social activities. In connection with the new economic system, he drew attention to the fact that the question of worker motivation, the distribution of personal incomes, and promotion in general has not been resolved. He also added that workers' funds for ensuring social security will be needed, as well as affirmation of the fact that a job is not a "right" acquired forever.

Janez Stanovnik [president of the Slovene Presidency] also believes that the main problems are economic. In his words, political discussions are exhausting us and distracting us from the central problem too much. Stanovnik also declared that the variety of Yugoslav economic problems is acting as a brake on Slovenia, but that, nevertheless, we must concentrate on our own big economic problems. The confrontation with inflation is, Stanovnik said, the struggle against its roots and not against "windmills," which means a confrontation with economic inefficiency. Stanovnik expressed the view that the LC, which has the working class as its basis, should address itself to it and resolve the problems of ordinary Slovenes. [passage omitted]

One of the main problems in today's discussion was the concept of "the relinquishing of power" and various interpretations of it by the LC membership and by the public. Joze Smole believes that the LC must have a clearer orientation on the importance of this concept, because in Slovenia tendencies are appearing which interpret it to imply that the LC is excluded from decisionmaking. The LC should also opt for a method of action in the procedure for the selection of candidates. The LC should provide an initiative for changing this procedure. Smole advocated the LC now orientating itself toward the holding of a referendum when the new republican constitution is adopted. Smole also believes that the SAWP must offer sufficient room for polemic debates within its framework, otherwise there will be more and more demands for an (organized) opposition outside the front organization. The opposition has, indeed, a marked anticommunist orientation, while part of it has separatist tendencies. The LC must clearly orientate itself against them, Smole said.

Ivan Dolnicar also advocated the holding of a referendum in connection with the adoption of the republican Constitution. He believes that it is necessary first of all to adopt the republican constitutions and only after them the federal Constitution.

Ciril Ribicic also agreed with the assessment that political polemics are exhausting its participants, but here he drew attention to the fact that they should not be underestimated. Ribicic advocated the development of the electoral system. As regards the forthcoming election of members of the SFRY Presidency, he warned that the existing Constitution allows only elections in the republican assemblies and not any other method. [passage omitted]

"The space" of the forthcoming plenum of Slovene communists is delineated by questions connected with the Constitution, the referendum, elections, the trial before the Military Court, and Janez Stanovnik's visit to the United States, but the plenum should offer our response to the assessments about the 17th session, Milan Kucan believes. The question of the response to the thesis about the "relinquishing of power" is crucial. It should provide an answer to the phenomenon of the abandonment of the party state and the setting up of a state with a rule of law. Kucan, taking part in the discussion, stressed that during the 17th session, he came to recognize that destabilization from various ideological points of view should not cause the destabilization of the state. Kucan said that there will continue to be ideological differences, but that the LC's basic task lies precisely in facilitating the normal functioning of the state. According to Kucan, a reply should be provided to the question of how to develop the political system in order to facilitate the articulation of individual political interests.

Kucan also dwelled on the lack of harmony between the planned economic reform and the political system. Hitherto, the practice has been of harmonization between subjects within organizations of associated labor and the

delegate system, whereas now these interests should be harmonized by the market. In other words, this means competition, which again bears with it new elements in this field.

The key criterion for the renewal of the party and the raising of the question of confidence is, in Kucan's assessment, the "usefulness" of this Presidium and Central Committee for solving the tasks before us. Confidence in the party is not general, but is confirmed in concrete tasks. It is certainly a matter of judgment as to what really should be done.

Kucan rejected the assessment that LCY members from Slovenia have so far not taken a sufficiently determined stance against the concept of real socialism. The standpoint at the 17th session was precisely that a state of emergency and a return to positions of real socialism should not be proclaimed. Regarding the federalization of the LCY, Kucan proposed a separate debate on this question, advocating action unity in the LCY in the framework of which, however, differences thrown up by life are possible and necessary. These differences themselves, however, are not sufficient for one to be able to speak about the federalization of the LCY.

At the end, Kucan also proposed standpoints in connection with the Military Court trial of the four from Ljubljana. The Presidium adopted his proposals. They contain, among other things, an initiative for pardoning the four who have been sentenced.

Slovene Cultural Workers on Military Trial

AU2211192188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Statement on the Trial of Four"]

[Text] The trial in the Ljubljana Military Court was in contradiction with the Slovene and Yugoslav Constitution. The sentences were pronounced on the basis of laws that are unconstitutional. The sentences were passed by a military court which should not try civilians in a legal state. The verdict is therefore unacceptable. The whole case represents an attack on the sovereignty of Slovenia's judiciary and is in essence an attack on the sovereignty of the Slovene people. This was stated in the unanimously adopted statement issued today at the meeting of the Slovene cultural workers.

The Slovene cultural workers' meeting proposed that appropriate republican and federal organizations should prevent the execution of the sentences passed against the will of the Slovene people. The meeting also demanded that all the conditions necessary to change the criminal law, on the basis of which constitutionally invalid sentences have been passed, be created.

The Slovene Association of Drama Artists announced that it will stop all its performances in Slovenia on the day that those sentenced receive the verdict.

Slovenia Supports Stanovnik After U.S. Remarks

AU2811193088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 88 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Shorthand Notes Protect President"]

[Text] Ljubljana 16 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session last night, the Slovene Presidency, as announced today, discussed the unofficial visit by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, to the United States, the content of the speeches he made there, and the way they were received among the Yugoslav public. The statement says that Janez Stanovnik's trip to the United States took place at a time of increasing interest in the world and the United States concerning the events in Yugoslavia. It is therefore understandable why the visit by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, aroused attention in broader American circles. As stated, he is known in international circles as a prominent UN official, an expert on international affairs, a scientist, and a politician who works directly in Slovenia and Yugoslavia in general.

According to the statement, routine and sterotype comments on Yugoslavia could not have been expected from a person of such rank. On the contrary, what was expected were lively, clear, and open comments, as well as a synthesized view on developments in our attempts to find a way out the crisis. In other words, an authentic and personal interpretation of our situation, of the specific characteristics of our political situation, which is often difficult for foreigners to understand.

Stanovnik appeared in the United States in the only possible way, at lectures which were well-structured, but as far as their form and the way in which they were conducted are concerned, they were improvised, the statement adds. This is why the published, unauthorized texts also contain metaphors and emphases of substance that were adapted for the specific needs of appearances abroad. Therefore, it is not justifiable at all to assess President Stanovnik's speeches in the United States on the basis of some extracted quotations or words, and by ignoring the entirety of the speeches.

The Slovene Presidency, it is stressed, particularly took into consideration the president's personal interpretation of the crisis in Yugoslavia before and after the 17th LCY Central Committee session and his views on the great importance of that session in stabilizing the political situation in Yugoslavia and forming uniform views prior to the implementation of the crucial economic, social, and political reforms. The Slovene Presidency holds the view that the statements made by its president have in no way reduced the general positive effects of the 17th LCY Central Committee session for calming the situation in Yugoslavia and for drawing the attention of all citizens to the central question of Yugoslavia's survival and development.

The Presidency does not want Stanovnik's public statements concerning these questions—as well as the questions concerning some elements taken out of the theory and practice of social and political conflicts—to be understood as Slovenia's denial of the adopted and affirmed principle on noninterference in the activities and responsibility of other peoples and nationalities with regard to their own destiny.

The statement says that these were the reasons for the Slovene Presidency to express the belief and hope that the traditionally good economic, social, and political relations with the Serbian people and their leadership will be confirmed in the future and that they will contribute toward the clarification of some possible misunderstandings in the developed practice of mutual cooperation, as well as toward the development of joint stands on all topical questions. The Slovene Presidency also wants to stress that, in addition to developing collective work and responsibilities, it has always appreciated the individual involvement and initiative of its members in various parts of public life or the spheres of their particular interests, knowledge, and talent. This is why in this specific case the Presidency's membership was not able—and nor was it desirable—to "conceal" the personal characteristics and specific nature of the president's speeches in the United States.

Despite its understanding that there are different assessments of the situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, all this led the Slovene Presidency to reject every simplified or emotional, and particularly ill-intended interpretation of its president's statements in the United States by some Yugoslav media. According to the Slovene presidency, the published shorthand notes of Stanovnik's statements enable citizens in all parts of the country to assess how justified the extremely tendentious witch-hunt was against President Stanovnik and even the Slovene political leadership. One can polemicize on some of his views and assessments, but, in the view of the Slovene Presidency, his statements as a whole could not be said to have an antisocialist, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav character and intention.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Yugoslav Statesman's Image

According to the Slovene Presidency's assessment, it would be desirable—along with everyone's taking full responsibility for stated or written words, and not only the members of the Presidency—to develop and enhance the image of the Yugoslav statesmen that was known in the past, of somebody who would know how and who would have the will to expertly arouse interest in the Yugoslav and narrower national reality. In the Slovene Presidency's view, this is how one should understand the assessment made by President Stanovnik concerning his personal relations with some individuals members of the groups or movements that are outside the generally valid political tenets and the importance of these relations for Slovenia's political direction.

The intensive process of democratization in Slovenia permits this kind of activity as an integral part of the political life of the President of the Slovene Presidency without him violating his constitutionally defined position or the collective character of the Slovene Presidency and its joint responsibility for the adopted views and conclusions.

Assessments for External Use

The time has come when there should be no difference in assessments made for use at home or abroad. We must attain such a level of ability and responsibility of every officially authorized person and citizen who is making statements abroad to interpret and defend in the best way he can, wherever this may be necessary, our orientations and aspirations without concealing our weaknesses and mistakes, because there is an illusion of apparent peace.

Initiative for 'Opposition Party' in Slovenia

AU2911093188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 88 p 3

[V. Simonovic report: "Association of Reason Under SAWP Auspices"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 16 Nov—On the second day of their cultural plenum, the cultural workers of Slovenia had only one topic on the agenda: "The sovereignty of the Slovene people." They decided with a great majority of votes (there were three votes against and five abstentions) that the Initiative Committee for Founding the Slovene Democratic Association of Reason be renamed the Founding Committee. It was proposed that this committee should hold a founding assembly on 10 December, which is the international human rights day. There was much polemics about the name of the organization, and whether it should function within the SAWP or not. So far no final stand was taken on this issue.

Today, on the second day of the meeting, the greatest attention was devoted to the question of sovereignty in the world, the equality of languages, the Slovenes' attitudes toward the Yugoslav People's Army....

Opposition Party

Ivo Urbancic was against the inclusion of the Slovene Democratic Association of Reason, or the Democratic Association of Reason, or the Association of Democratic Reason (the name is yet to be decided on) in the SAWP.

Urbancic said that the SAWP is a forum of organizations without grassroots and that it therefore strives to attract all organizations. I am not in favor of providing identity to an

organization which is not prepared to change its infrastructure, Urbancic stressed and added that he would like the Association of Reason to be a political organization on equal footing, an organization which would have a political parliament.

Let us recall, the SAWP has already supported the initiative for founding this association.

Dimitrij Rupel spoke about the idea and program theses of the association. At the last cultural meeting, it was Dimitrij Rupel who proposed the founding of the association. In his opinion the theses could be defended, and they show what this association could develop into. Concerning the dilemma as to whether the association should function within the SAWP, Rupel pointed out that the people have turned a deaf ear to the SAWP, which is to say to the inclusion of the association into the SAWP, and that it was therefore the question of whether the SAWP would accept it in this way.

Replying to Urbancic, Milos Mikeln, president of the Council for Culture of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, said that the SAWP did not claim the right to decide on the association's place in the SAWP, but that it was the initiator who demanded that. Petar Novak also spoke in favor of the association functioning within the SAWP because, as he said, this would contribute to the transformation of the SAWP itself.

We are talking about an opposition which could not play any other role but that of an opposition party which will continuously check the state and its measures, and, of course, make its own proposals, Boris Grabner said. According to him, this is the basis of every democracy, and therefore the Association of Reason must have equal status. If we were to operate under Smole [Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP], Grabner said, the SAWP would have to refrain from condemning some of our stands. There were also some proposals that the media provides the opposition and all others who hold different views with one or two of their pages. The dilemma concerning the association's status will probably remain unresolved until the founding session.

Speaking on the theme "The Slovenes and the Army," on the basis of the findings of several recent public polls, Dr Zdenko Roter pointed out that the Slovenes reject all stereotypes about them: that they are anti-army; that there is an all-out attack on the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia; and that a counterrevolution is taking place in this republic. The Slovenes, he said, have critical attitudes toward the Army, and as many as 90 percent of them think that the Slovene language in the Yugoslav People's Army is lacking equality. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Support for Stanovnik

Considering the increasing number of attacks on the President of the SR of Slovenia, and the direct demands for his resignation made in other republics, particularly in the SR of Serbia, the assembly of the Slovene cultural workers concluded:

That Comrade Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene people, was elected by and is exclusively accountable to the Slovene people which he legitimately represents. In view of this, the Slovene cultural workers unanimously and resolutely reject all the demands which encroach on the sphere of Slovene sovereignty, which is to say the sovereignty of the Slovene people, and reject all the calls for the accountability of the man who was elected and can only be dismissed by the sovereign Slovene People.

Ljubljana Students Boycott Republic Day

AU2911193888 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 88 p 11

[D. Damjanovic report: "They Do Not Want Flags for the Holiday"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Nov—The students living in the Ljubljana Student Center issued a leaflet "Holiday Without Flags" in which they announced that flags will not flutter on Republic Day on students campuses because there is no reason to celebrate something that no longer exists, something that "was crushed with the policies of recent decades," particularly with the accord on constitutional changes without holding a referendum, the political trial of the four men, and the ban on a free discussion [universitet] on constitutional changes.

Our decision, the leaflet states, not to hoist flags on the holiday is our protest against totalitarianism in a country of dubious democracy. With this act, we are withholding our obedience from the state authorities which offer us only the bright past, exile, and a life on the edge of existence. If we were in a position today to decide on the legitimacy of the present authorities, we would withhold our support. We would withhold our support until our officials are elected in direct elections, until all the peoples are enabled to formulate and approve their own constitution through a referendum, and until there are no more people sitting in our prisons for their beliefs. Withholding the support is not a one-sided move on our part. We think that the authorities, who stated that we were an unnecessary and damaging element in the process of reaching an agreement on the constitutional changes, have deprived us of our sovereignty. This is why our act should be understood as the end of one process.

The leaflet was signed by Silvo Zapecnik and Pavle Krapez. The last sentence on the leaflet expresses the hope that this act will not have political and militia persecution.

Svabic Accused of Having 'Milosevic's Blessing'

AU2911214488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Nov 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic Is Behind Svabic"]

[Text] Taking part in the discussion at the Slovene LC Central Committee session, Vlado Janzic said that he wanted to express his view concerning the Belgrade meeting, and above all the speech made by Mihajlo Svabic. Svabic proposed some kind of exodus to some Slovenes, but I think this could be understood as a proposal to all the Slovenes. I think that he had Milosevic's blessing for saying this. My claims are based on the fact that Milosevic spoke after Svabic, and that he did not dissociate himself from anything that Svabic had said. This represents some kind of blessing. Since this has justifiably been the cause of what people in Slovenia today think about this speech, because this speech was an insult to the Slovene people, I think that it would be appropriate to establish Mihajlo Svabic's accountability for his statements, Vlado Janzic said.

Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, reacted to this by confirming that Comrade Svabic had made a speech. The fact is that his speech has had some consequences. This is where I would stop, Kucan said. In my opinion, our Republican Veterans Organization—Comrade Mihajlo Svabic is a member of the Federal Presidium of this organization—did what was necessary. It expressed its disagreement where this was necessary, in the leadership of that organization. If our Central Committee is of the opinion that it would be necessary to undertake some steps within the LC, I would not have anything against this. But I would not like us to speculate about whether Mihajlo Svabic had Milosevic's blessing or not. I think that this would go beyond the rational thinking required by politics, Kucan said.

Milan Kucan on Slovenes in Yugoslavia

AU3011205188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] It is known that many critical words were expressed in republics and provinces before this year's Republic Day, and that many arrows were shot, so to say, at individual leaders. Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, reacted to some of these complaints. In his talks with veteran Communists of Nova Gorica, he presented his vision of the place and the fate of Slovenia in Yugoslavia, 45 years after the second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. Relja Atanasijevic reports from Ljubljana:

The SFRY was created also by the Slovenes, and they joined it of their own free will, because they wanted to, Milan Kucan said. They did this for the first time in their history as a sovereign nation, with the sovereignty won in the national and socialist revolution. Therefore, he stressed, nobody can chase them out of this state. If we ever leave this state, Kucan warned, we will do it of our own volition, just as we joined it, if the situation becomes unbearable for a life in common. As cofounders of this state, the Slovenes therefore bear the responsibility and possess the right, Kucan went on to say, to do everything to prevent such a situation. However, we possess the right and the duty to say how we imagine the essence of the relations for a life in common, just as others do, so as to ensure comprehensive and free development, and our sovereignty to a greater extent than if we were alone, and not at the expense of others.

In Kucan's opinion, the discussion of the sense, the essence, and the relations of life in common is not a quarrel about who lives on any floor or in the basement in Yugoslavia. It is a discussion without invoking one's own historical merits, one's own size, one's economic development, culture, or democratic traditions as one may imagine them. To put it simply, it is a question of a discussion about what the joint project for accelerated social development should be to tie us together in Yugoslavia, as a possible form of life in common, Milan Kucan said in conclusion.

YPA Veterans Hold Session in Novi Sad 21 Nov

LD2111212888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—We do not fear any enemy from outside the country as long as we are united within the country. We will not allow some powerful people to call us veterans—who have always been for a united Yugoslavia—unitarists, says a statement issued at today's extended session of the Veterans' Organization of the Podunavlje Municipality in Novi Sad. "In doing this, these powerful men want to silence us, while they do not refrain from building their strong republican unitariasm. Neither we the veterans, nor Yugoslavia are going to be stopped in our fight for brotherhood and unity in the fraternal socialist Yugoslav community.

A great number of the veterans who took part in the discussion condemned the slow pace at which the problems of Kosovo are being tackled and the inefficiency in dismantling the counterrevolution. They also condemned the disunity among the country's highest leaderships, particularly in the LCY Central Committee, the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, and the SFRY Presidency.

They resolutely requested that the federal secretary for national defense "withdraw the recommendation that the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] officer serving in Slovenia learn Slovene, because it is regarded as putting the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia on an unequal footing, since as far as they are concerned, there has not yet been any such recommendation." [sentence as received] Furthermore, Serbo-Croat, as a command language, is considered one of the essential factors of the YPA's Yugoslav character.

A considerable portion of the discussion dealt with the latest manifestations of strong indoctrination with antisocialism, anti-self-management, and anti-Yugoslavism. These manifestations occur not just in Kosovo, but in other areas, and are being "most escalated in Slovenia and most frequently take the form of attacks on the YPA." These excesses in Slovenia were qualified as being as dangerous as the counterrevolution in Kosovo." [no opening quotation marks as received] The veterans from Podunavlje Municipality decided unanimously that the SFRY Presidency should take measures to prevent Janez Stanovnik from performing further state, political, or social work involving any decision-making on the fate of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and of Yugoslavia as a whole, the statement stresses. The statement also demands that the Federal Conference of SAWPY "also act accordingly against Joze Smole."

Vojvodina Daily Comments on Meetings

AU2511210088 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 88 p 7

[S. Gavric commentary: "Three Meetings"]

[Text] The brotherhood and unity rally in Belgrade has been announced, prepared, and called for in advance. In front of 1,5 million people, it repeated what had been said at several tens of solidarity meetings with the Serbs, Montenegrins, and other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, who for many years, and not just since 1981, have lived; or better, have been disappearing under the pressure and terror of Albanian nationalists and separatists, under a terror incomprehensible in any civilized society, and particularly in a socialist society. It was said that we are in favor of brotherhood and unity in a unified Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and not a confederate republic; that we are in favor of a unified Serbia with two provinces and not three separate republics, which is to say in favor of a unified SR of Serbia in which no people or nationality will have to emigrate from its homes under duress, in which nobody will be allowed to dig up the graves, in which no children will have to go to school under militia escort only because they belong to another people or nationality. It was again repeated: Kosovo has been, is, and will be Serbia.

At tens of meetings before this last, concluding one, the slogans and demands were not exclusively "political," but also had a social-class content; the people asking for socialism instead of social assistance, for dignity being restored to labor, for both income and power being restored to the workers class, and for the bureaucracy and plutocracy that have imposed themselves on society and people should be deprived of power. The following words by Slobodan Milosevic were certainly devoted to this aspect of the numerous meetings:

"The reform which we need to carry out concerns great social changes which should take place as soon as possible. The most important changes should occur in the field of economy. These changes should establish the unity in Serbia as a republic, and its equality with other republics in Yugoslavia. The reform should improve and remedy everything that is of importance to people's lives: prices, medical care, education, and the information system. They should facilitate a more successful and freer development of sciences and arts.... They should contribute toward everything in society—especially in politics—being done openly so that people compulsorily and regularly bear responsibility for the results of their work...."

This in fact is the program and the promise of a policy.

In Kosovo, the demonstrations were not announced, but it is certain that they were not prepared and called precisely on the day that the meeting was being held in Belgrade. A session of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo has been held. At the moment we do not know how these demonstrations will be assessed, but there are many indications that the assessments cannot be positive, and it is even less possible to call the demonstrations a meeting of brotherhood and unity. The fact that the demonstrations were of a single nationality (this time indeed of a single nationality) is the least cause for such thoughts. Even such a miracle could be accepted in these moments of a completely confused Kosovo situation! Some other facts are disturbing, however.

First, the implementation of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, regarding the establishment of responsibility for the deterioration of the Kosovo situation, was being delayed a long time. One wriggled, resisted, and finessed, as if one were intentionally waiting for these days.

Second, the demonstrators expressed unreserved support for the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, and especially those most criticized, Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari. Indirectly (or even directly!), this means support for a policy and a situation that actually prevail in Kosovo, and that had been officially assessed several times this year: the nationalists and separatists continue to act with unabated vigor, the counterrevolution goes on, interethnic relations are deteriorating, emigration continues at the same pace and for the same reasons. If the number of those emigrating is lower, this is probably only because there are fewer and fewer Serbs and Montenegrins. The "untruncated" Constitution of 1974 is being unanimously defended. Sinan Hasani is being booed because he tries now, and also tried earlier, to explain that neither Kosovo as an autonomous province, nor the Albanians themselves as a nationality will lose anything with the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. Politically compromised people are being applauded. There is no slogan of social and class nature whatever!

If the situation in Kosovo has been like this for years, the leaderships must go. They need not be branded as nationalistic or separatist, it is sufficient that they are incapable

or powerless to change the situation to the better. If these facts are not respected, it is clear that the demonstrations have sprouted in political soil in which the counterrevolution in 1981 sprouted.

A meeting is to be held in Ljubljana today, to show solidarity with Jansa, Zavrl, Borstner, and Tasic. It is being organized by the "famous" Human Rights Protection Committee. If it were to extend its solidarity to Miha Strojan (Brajdic) and his family of 12 members, of Zagradec, who were maltreated by four militiamen a month ago—they were slapped and things were broken—it would be worth while going there and perhaps joining in. But there is no chance that this might happen: Miha and his 12 family members are Romanies, and one knows for what people and what rights the said committee cares. And Miha certainly did not betray a military secret!

Thus, three meetings in three parts of the country in 3 days. We have in mind the state of Yugoslavia, and not this Planet Earth, although the uninitiated could easily think of this latter possibility.

Commentary on 'Double Standards' at Rallies

AU2611174188 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 88 p 1

[Vjakoslav Krsnik commentary: "Dangerous Fears"]

[Text] The apparent political peace since the 17th LCY Central Committee session—the session that in fact could not solve the current social, political, and economic crisis in Yugoslavia, but has at least in the outcome of the vote of confidence on LCY Central Committee members, solved the dilemma of the relation of powers as concerns the two options of the way out of the crisis—has been disturbed again, this time seriously, by the latest development of events in Kosovo, Serbia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia.

The mass meeting in Belgrade held under the banner "Brotherhood and Unity" has manifested the unity of only one nation. While slogans "We shall go to Kosovo" were being heard at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, Albanians in Pristina shouted "Tito-party," "Brotherhood and Unity," and added "They do not want to be with us." Yugoslavia thus found itself in the whirl of dangerous fears. Our country has been facing this rise in the political temperature aimed at gaining political points and exerting pressure throughout the entire year, culminating in the resolute action by the forces of public order and the imposition of the state of emergency in Titograd. At that time, even the president of the SFRY Presidency had to address the public and warn it of the danger of emergency measures which the Yugoslav community was confronted with as a result of such developments.

The events over the last 10 days or so have proved that it was not an accidental statement when Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that he was afraid that an unprincipled coalition had won and a republic lost at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. When the veil of rhetoric is removed from this statement, 23 million Yugoslavs must face the fact that a struggle on several fronts is being waged in their country. First, there is the obvious confrontation between self-managing-democratic and dogmatic-conservative options in the ideological sector; between consistent federalism and unitarism and hegemonism in the interenthnic sector; between market-plan and planned-market variant in the economic sector; between progress and lagging behind in the development sector; and, in the international sector, between getting nearer to the Europe of the 21st century, while maintaining a nonaligned status and refusing to join European integration in the interest of some stubborn puritanism.

When people were brought out into the streets, without being given the right to decide on all the above-mentioned dilemmas in the way that is only possible in democratic societies, that is, without giving them the real possibility to choose between the offered options, another illusion was created in a part of our country—that the people have entered politics. When 7 years after the counterrevolution, another people goes out into the streets carrying Yugoslav and Serbian flags, as well as flags of Albanian and other nationalities, and presents its demands along with only a few incidents and undesirable slogans, then the community which likes so much to invoke the name of the people calls such street gatherings demonstrations. The highest point of cynicism was reached in the assessment that Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI made on this gathering in the streets. The newspaper stated almost regretfully that "it is interesting that about 15,000 people marched in the streets of Pristina for almost 24 hours, but there were no more serious incidents." This detail points out the double standards that are used in such and similar situations, something which can by no means serve as a basis for reaching and understanding or for searching for common solutions in the general crisis that has hit us all.

It is exactly these double standards that are the source of many misunderstandings, this being the mildest term for confrontations, within the Yugoslav interethnic arena. Since the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the LC of Serbia has simply been bombarding other Yugoslav communities with demands for unity and to comply with basic principles on democratic centralism.

Although demands from this republican party organization have remained in the minority at the First LCY Conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, there are attempts—unexpected moves that disregarded the new Yugoslav synthesis that should be based on consensus as a "condition sine qua non" of federal Yugoslavia—to impose one's own will on others in the multinational community and to do so on the basis of big numbers and not unity or democratic centralism. How else is one to interpret Dusan Ckrebic's decision after he was not given a vote of confidence by the highest organ of Yugoslav Communists to withdraw his resignation from membership in the LCY Central Committee Presidium on

the basis of demands voiced by members and bodies of the LC of Serbia? Is Dusan Ckrebic—because he belongs to the republican party organization of the largest nation in Yugoslavia—privileged in comparison to Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi, for instance, whose return to their posts from which they had been recently relieved, is very much demanded by the grassroots in Pristina and Kosovo? On what moral and political rights are Serbian demands for resignations of so many politicians in other Yugoslav communities based, while when Yugoslavia gives a vote of no confidence to one member who represents the LC of Serbia in the highest executive LCY organ—which certainly does not mean a vote of no confidence for the entire LC of Serbia—it is then not accepted? If the SR of Serbia has been given the agreement of all other members of the federation on its constitutional changes, then one can finally ask: What is wanted now?

Are these moves under the banner "The worse it is the better" aimed at creating a situation that would necessitate emergency measures? Or is this the way—despite the permanent orientation toward unity in the LC of serbia—to openly proffer a confederal order of Yugoslavia and the definite abandonment of democratic centralism when the LCY has lost its authority anyway, with a view toward initiating new processes in Yugoslavia's sociopolitical structure? If this is true, then it is important to establish who has made the first move because of all the repercussions and serious consequences that could result from this and the question of responsibility for the situation would have to be asked with such an outcome.

Media Examine 19 Nov Belgrade Rally

AU2911113588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The Magnificent Journey to the Confluence"]

[Text] The brotherhood and unity rally held on Saturday in Belgrade was the main topic in the pages of yesterday's Yugoslav newspapers, so that the assessment of it can briefly be summed up in the view that it was the most magnificent meeting ever held in our country, that it was excellently organized, and that it took place in a dignified way and without incident.

The Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES report of the meeting begins on the first page entitled "We Will Win the Battle for Kosovo" and its subtitle consists of the words of Slobodan Milosevic: "We Should Change Many Beliefs and Many People in Politics in Order for our Life To Be Better." Apart from the first one, another 10 pages of yesterday's EKSPRES are devoted to the solidarity meeting and there are also two illustrated pages about the events at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube under the heading "Messages for the Future." Detailed quotes are given from the speech by Slobodan Milosevic with the headline "It Is Time for Struggle and Not for Sorrow," as well as from speeches by the others who stood on the rostrum: Dragan Tomic (entitled "Belgrade—The Open Heart of the Country"), Mihajlo Svabic ("Where Did We Lose the Signpost?"), Milovan Vitezovic ("The Soul of the Serbian People"), Rados Smiljkovic ("Serbia Must Unite") Radoje Ristovic ("We Know Who Is Lying to Us"), Katarina Gojkovic ("Young People Want Changes"), and Svetomir Arsic Basara ("We Only Want Freedom").

Belgrade

Yesterday, POLITIKA devoted 10 pages to the brotherhood and unity meeting and one of the first assessments was that "yesterday, and in a dignified way, the citizens expressed their desire for unity and peace, for the resolution of the Kosovo tragedy, and for the beginning of the reform and changes which will lead to a way out of the serious crisis." The report begins on the front page with the headline "No Force Can Stop the Unification of Serbia Any Longer" and with two subtitles: "Slobodan Milosevic: We Will Win the Struggle for Kosovo Regardless of the Obstacles Placed Before Us at Home and Abroad" and "One and Half Million People Gathered at the Meeting." Slobodan Milosevic's speech is entitled "I Can Tell the Albanians in Kosovo that No One Has Found It Difficult To Live in Serbia Because He Was Not a Serb," while separately boxed is an article called "Dirty Slyness Cannot Scare the Serbian People." Taken from Dragan Tomic's speech is the headline "Must the People Who Have Invested so Much in Freedom Continue To Look at Their Dissipated Hearths?" while from Rados Smiljkovic's speech there is the headline "The Spread of Fear of Serbia Is Anti-Yugoslavism." "As Far as Equality, Brotherhood-Unity, and the Achievements of the Revolution Are Concerned We Have Never Asked the Price" is POLITIKA's headline over quotes from the speech by the worker Radoje Ristovic.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI begins its report on the first page with the headline "The People Win the Struggles." The subtitle quotes Slobodan Milosevic's words: "The Awareness That Has Conquered Serbia This Summer Has Become the Material Force Which Will Stop the Terror in Kosovo and Which Will Unite Serbia," as well as those of Rados Smiljkovic: "The Spread of Fear of Serbia Under the Present Conditions Is Anti-Yugoslavism," those of Mihajlo Svabic: "The Leading Republican Bureaucracies Have Divided Everything That Exists and Closed It Into Republican Boundaries," and those of Svetomir Arsic Basara: "Nobody Can Deny Any Longer That There Is Grand Treason in Kosovo and Metohija." On the second page under the title "It Is Time for Struggle," detailed highlights of Slobodan Milosevic's speech are given, as well as what was said by Katarina Gojkovic under the title "We Do Not Accept Lies." The third page is devoted to the words of the other speakers. The illustrated VECERNJE NOVOSTI also devoted its two center pages to photographs of the confluence and states that there were 1.3 million people at the meeting.

Novi Sad

The Novi Sad DNEVNIK report begins on the first page with the headline "The Voice of Yugoslavia for Yugoslavia." "More than 1.3 million working people and citizens

from all regions of Yugoslavia at yet another meeting which was, according to Slobodan Milosevic, a meeting for brotherhood and unity, for Yugoslavia and a nicer tomorrow, showed that they no longer want incapable and disunited leaderships but leaderships that will respect the will of the people...." This is one of the first assessments on the pages of DNEVNIK. The headline on the second page speaks for itself: "A Historic Day on the Confluence Through the Eye of a Camera," and the third page, under the heading "The Serbian People Have Kept Quiet for a Long Time, Many Have Not Understood the Warning," begins with the words of Dragan Tomic which are followed by quotes from the speeches of others at the meeting. The fifth page of yesterday's DNEVNIK gives detailed highlights of Slobodan Milosevic's speech under the heading "Let Us Change Many Ideas in Politics for Things To Be Better for Us."

Zagreb

The NEDELJNI VJESNIK report also begins on the first page with a photograph of the people gathered at the meeting, which is dominated by a picture of Slobodan Milosevic and entitled "Demand for the Unity of Serbia and Yugoslavia", and invokes among other things the assessment of the organizers that 1.3 million people attended the meeting. VJESNIK then continues its report from Belgrade on the third page under the headline "The Great Meeting in Belgrade" to which it devotes half a page.

"Belgrade on its Feet" is a headline from yesterday's Zagreb VECERNJI LIST, which begins its report from the Belgrade meeting on the first page and continues on the second page assessing in the subtitle that "Yesterday's Meeting in the Country's Capital City Was the Largest Ever in Our Postwar History."

The Hungarian language newspaper MAGYAR SZO begins its report from the meeting on the first page with the headline "Kosovo, our Joint Problem." There is a photograph spread across the front page with the statement that 1.3 million people gathered at the meeting. The report then continues on the whole of the sixth and seventh pages which are abundantly illustrated with photographs. The greatest part is devoted to Slobodan Milosevic's speech, which is on the whole of the seventh page. His words are printed under the heading "There Is No Struggle That the People Can Lose." There are two passages especially boxed within the report, which has the subtitle "We Live Together Without Hatred and Division." The first is entitled "Columns From Vojvodina" and the second "Who Is Responsible for Our Future," which bear witness to the slogans and banners at the meeting.

Skopje

NOVA MAKEDONIJA covers the meeting with reports on the front page and more detailed quotes from the speeches of the speakers at the meeting and devotes most space to the words of Slobodan Milosevic. Otherwise, the report on the Belgrade meeting is unsigned and is printed under the heading "Peace and Order in Kosovo—the Most Important Task."

Today's NOVA MAKEDONIJA stresses on the first, third, and fourth pages under the heading "The Situation in Pristina Is Increasingly Complex," that "it is obvious that the meetings in Kosovo and especially in Pristina are neither accidental nor spontaneous," and emphasizes that some unacceptable slogans also appeared.

Titograd POBJEDA estimates today that there were about 1.3 million people at the Belgrade meeting and carries the headline "Yugoslavia, a Single Confluence" on its front page. The words of Slobodan Milosevic are in the subtitle. In addition to the front page, POBJEDA devotes another three pages to the meeting. The words of Slobodan Milosevic are given under the title "To Preserve and Develop Our Country Together." Quotes from the speeches of the other speakers are given in detail and in the order in which the speakers appeared on the rostrum. However, the events in Kosovo are carried as a shadow to the events in Belgrade. Almost the same amount of space that is given to the Belgrade meeting is devoted to the events in Pristina. On the front page under the title "Yugoslavia, a Single Confluence," there is another quite different one "A Dramatic Course of Events."

With the title "1.3 Million People at the Meeting," on the front page, yesterday's SLOBODNA DALMACIJA carries a report of the meeting in Belgrade on the fourth and fifth pages. In reports compiled by its own reporter and TANJUG, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA stresses on these two pages under the title, "A Mass as Never Before," that "vast columns from many parts of the country were yesterday arriving as guests of Belgrade since the early morning." Highlights from Slobodan Milosevic's speech are given under the title, "There Is no Struggle That the People Have Lost."

Sarajevo

"A Message of Reason and Encouragement"—under this heading and in a text on four pages, a special team from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE comprehensively reports in today's issue on the meeting in Belgrade. OSLOBODJENJE stresses that about 1.3 million people gathered at this meeting and they expressed their support with the demands that the crisis which the country has fallen into and the drama called Kosovo can only be resolved through the unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. OSLOBODJENJE emphasizes that the meeting took place in a dignified and orderly way and without incident and that it was held in an atmosphere reminiscent of the time of revolutionary zeal because choirs sang and actors gave recitals through which messages about the expedience of a joint life were expressed, and because of the opposition to each and every division and the great hope that the economic and political difficulties, including the counterrevolution in Kosovo, will be overcome.

Kosovo Newspapers Differ

The two Kosovo newspapers JEDINSTVO and RILINDJA write in different ways about the meeting in Belgrade. JEDINSTVO calls the meeting "magnificent" and RILINDJA just calls it a "meeting." JEDINSTVO devotes the first four pages to the meeting and RILINDJA carries an announcement on the front page, a report on the whole of the third page, and three columns on the fourth page. RILINDJA also saw and heard some slogans that JEDINSTVO does not note.

A special issue of JEDINSTVO devotes its first three and ½ pages to the meeting. The headline on the front page is "We Will Win the Fight for Kosovo Regardless of the Obstacles." This is stressed on the second and third pages, as well as the following headline: "The National Essence of Serbs and Montenegrins Has Been Threatened in Kosovo." Highlights from all the speeches are given. The third page carries the headline "Separatists Shame Albanians in Front of the World" and Slobodan Milosevic's speech.

RILINDJA writes the following about the meeting in Belgrade: "A meeting of brotherhood and unity has been held in Belgrade—the largest postwar meeting in Yugoslavia." After this, "The Main Aim—the Establishment of Peace in Kosovo" is also stressed. On the front page, RILINDJA says that this was essentially the final meeting of numerous and similar meetings that have been held in Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro in the last 4 months and was probably the largest of this type in postwar Yugoslavia. Also in the report, RILINDJA reports among other things that "about 8,000 Serbs and Montenegrins (and perhaps other citizens) arrived and they were led by Bogdan Kecman from Kosovo Polje." As well as highlights from the speeches, RILINDJA also reports on the slogans that were carried and shouted and says that some of them were seen for the first time: "S(lobodan), R(ados), B(ogdan), I(stina) [Serbo-Croatian for truth—FBIS], J(ovic), A(leksandar)," "Our Albanians—Yes, Emigres—No," "Oh, Golden Serbia," "Slobodan, a name so proud, Tito has taught you well." RILINDJA also writes that pictures of Njegos, Trifunovic, Tupurkovski, and Patriarch German were also carried and describes a column of priests who "carried the banner" "Kosovo is the holy place of Serbia."

Zarkovic Speaks in Croatian Central Committee

AU3011174488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report: "The Unbreakable Link Between the LCY and the SAWPY"]

[Text] Participating in the discussion at the session of the Croatian LC Central Committee, Vidoje Zarkovic, who was attending the session on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the transformation of the SAWP was one of the key issues in the entire reform of the political system. This question is an issue directly linked to the actual reform of the LCY, in which the main compotent of the party reform is a radical break of the LCY's links with the state apparatus and political monopoly. The key question is how sociopolitical organizations and even the SAWP should become the instrument of mass socialist self-managing action. This requires from the LC that it act to a greater extent in a democratic way and conduct an open public dialogue. However, the LC cannot change its method of work and break with sectarianism and bureaucratism by itself, but only through the front of the Socialist Alliance. In this sense, its reform is inseparable from the reform of the SAWP.

Zarkovic also pointed out some open questions which had appeared in relation to the pluralism of political interests in our society. In this context, he recalled the standpoint of the first LCY conference and its clear and affirmative stand on the right of every person to freely express their views and interests, including political ones. This is a fundamental right in a democratic society. At the same time, the conference opposed demands for a multiparty system, but also demands for the political monopoly of the LCY and attempts to organize political interests which would negate the foundations of the system of socialist self-management.

This is a question—said Zarkovic—of self-managing political pluralism being expressed in the SAWP as the broadest front with socialist political aims and a socialist program. This is the framework which defines what is implied in self-managing political pluralism and where it differs from the multiparty political system. This is also an essential determinant of the changes that must be made in the SAWP and in the activities of Communists in the SAWP. Therefore, we must resolve the question of political pluralism with the reform of the LC and the SAWP in such a way that, as the highest form of democracy, it allows the working person and citizen to become the subject rather than the object of politics, and therefore in fact to qualitatively surpass political party pluralism.

However, Zarkovic also pointed out some specific attitudes which see self-managing political pluralism as a danger to our multinational community and a way to its disintegration. The truth, he said, is the reverse. Self-managing pluralism understood in this way is useful for our multinational community in many respects.

BORBA Commentary Views Pristina Protests

AU3011110388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 88 p 2

[Djuro Bilbija commentary: "Single Nationality Defense of the Constitution"]

[Text] Kosovo has again been shaken. The situation could have been viewed as regularly irregular if Kosovo Albanians had not gone out into the streets en masse for

the first time since 1981 and 1982, and if the word "demonstration" had not prevailed from the very beginning in the political assessments of their protests.

Is something brewing, and if so what? Should one really speak about demonstrations when there were no excesses in the streets of Kosovo towns, or in the Pristina Boro and Ramiz center, or in the Pristina stadium, when the protesters were carrying Tito's picture, chanting "Tito—party," supporting the LCY Central Committee, cheering for brotherhood and unity, and carrying the state flag and the flag of the Albanian nationality, which is not without the newly-established symbol of belonging to Yugoslavia, and when slogans like "Constitution—republic" were isolated and silenced? Can one, and should one, overlook the fact that in almost all their external characteristics the current manifestations of the Kosovo Albanians have been similar to the protest meetings of a people which we have so frequently witnessed in recent months?

Therefore, the question could be: Were these demonstrations, or only yet another politically benign protest gathering? It could, but it nevertheless seems that, although this does not involve some political-scholastic dilemma, "the code" to understanding what is happening is not primarily in any,—conditionally—delineations and explanations of terminology.

This conclusion and this sort of caution are prompted above all by the fact that, as time went on, the current Kosovo manifestations of Albanians increasingly used the slogan "We do not give up the 1974 Constitution." The full meaning of this mass "single nationality" "defense of the Constitution" becomes clearer if one bears in mind that the present constitutional changes do not touch the foundations of the autonomy of either Vojvodina or Kosovo. Things are quite simple: The slogan "We do not give up the 1974 Constitution" essentially defends above all what made the provinces—through the Constitution of 1974—in fact republics within a republic and states within a state. It also defends the acquired rights to so-called systemic separatism which is derived from the same thing that has made Yugoslavia in many respects an actual confederation in recent years.

It can be said in this way: The slogan "We do not give up the 1974 Constitution" in the current protests of Kosovo Albanians does not only dispute the already historically confirmed necessity that Yugoslavia fights for its own new chance and the future through changes above all, but it also attempts to use mass national pressure to frustrate the unavoidable return of the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina to the frameworks established by the SFRY Constitution of 1974! Unfortunately, some other slogans in many respects also had the same purpose. For example, the slogan: "We do not want resignations," or something innovative, "Let us look after the cadres."

Both slogans therefore could, and must, be read in this way: We do not want the resignations of those people who are, at least in deeds if not in words, against the return of autonomy to the frameworks of the 1974 Constitution and let us look after cadres with which there are fewer possibilities for "this step backward." Of course, it is certain that among those who were shouting "We do not want resignations" there was a large number of those who most sincerely believe that the departure of Kacusa Jasari, for example, was not at all necessary. It would really be inappropriate to attribute to them, if they were not in the least right, any kind of ulterior or problematic motives.

Because of all this, really the most essential thing is not whether this is a question of "only" a mass protest against the necessary "step backwards" of Kosovo (and indeed of Vojvodina) toward the 1974 Constitution, or of a classic demonstration of almost general disagreement with the reduction of "autonomy" to the boundaries of real autonomy. This is because what is much more important for both Kosovo and Yugoslavia is whether the Pristina streets were filled with a well-organized national antireform coalition which—through manifestations without excesses and with state and socialist signs and slogans—attempts to preserve from "Kosovo-republic" at least that which is (or was) achieved through an expanded, nationalized, and republicanized "autonomy." If serious and comprehensive analyses (which should be swiftly made) show that it was a question of this, then it will be crystal clear that what has continued over the last few days under pictures of Tito was the same thing that caused these pictures to be torn down and smashed in (or up to) 1981.

Radio Yugoslavia's New Transmitter Commissioned

LD3012205788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0156 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov. (TANJUG)—For several days now the voice of Yugoslavia can be heard at every point of our planet. The Radio Yugoslavia station began to transmit its programs from a new 2,000 kilowatt transmitter. Listeners in the most distant places in the world can listen daily to authentic information about Yugoslavia, its people, events, trends, etc, in 10 languages over 12 hours a day. After almost 10 years of construction, the new Radio Yugoslavia transmitter in Bijeljina has broadcast, with a more powerful signal than ever before, the familiar first bars of the song "Comrade Tito, We Pledge To You", which was written during the national liberation struggle.

The significance of the new Radio Yugoslavia transmitter at this moment is invaluable. At a time when Yugoslavia is passing through very hard times, facing the economic and social crisis, and when it is embarking on reforms in the economic and political system and in the LC, true and timely information on events in the country, with a consistent Yugoslav interpretation, is the best way of preventing the spread of misinformation about our country. It is-

the objectivity, the honestness, and the openness in reporting, as Dragan Markovic, director of Radio Yugoslavia, put it, which have earned us the most frequent compliments of many listeners throughout the world. About 5,000 listeners' letters praising, suggesting, criticizing, and inquiring, are received by Radio Yugoslavia each year.

Radio Yugoslavia must improve itself further, must broaden the scope of its programs and times of broadcasting, said Pance Zafirovski, chief and responsible editor. The lack of funds has prevented us from covering our nearest neighbors in their languages—Hungary, Romania, and a little bit further Turkey, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The new transmitter is of utmost importance for making our voice heard, Zafirovski said. Also very important are the conditions in which 35 journalists and about 70 translators and announcers work. Radio Yugoslavia is still a tenant of Radio Belgrade. These difficult conditions, as well as the lack of funds, limit the expansion of programs.

Responsible people in Radio Yugoslavia are hoping that the first program in Serbo-Croatian, the Yugoslav News, made by a staff journalist will be broadcast to the world at the beginning of next year. So far, Radio Yugoslavia has been rebroadcasting programs made by various Yugoslav radio stations in the languages of various nations and nationalities for a total of 12 hours a week, but it has had no influence on their preparation. Our aim, Zafirovski stressed, is for Radio Yugoslavia to edit programs in the future and for Yugoslav radio stations to cooperate in their creation. Thereby, the wishes of many listeners worldwide would be fulfilled, and an absurdity—that the only Yugoslav short-wave radio station, that is, Radio Yugoslavia, broadcasts in 10 languages but not in Serbo-Croatian—(?would end). Recently, VHF broadcasts for foreigners, foreign students and people passing through our capital, have started. This is the same program which Radio Yugoslavia broadcasts to the most distant parts of the planet, and which has already found permanent and loyal listeners in Belgrade, too.